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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 990



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INTERNATIONAL

EUROMISSILES WOULD 'SUBSTANTIALLY ALTER' STRATEGIC SITUATION

LD170953 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 79 p 1 LD

[Editorial: "For Peace and the Security of the Peoples"]

[Text] The development and strengthening of the socialist community countries and the growth of the beneficial influence of their international policy constitute the current main direction of mankind's social progress. Deriving strength and courage from mutual support and fraternal solidarity, the countries of our community are moving confidently ahead, seeking new successes in economic and cultural development and exercising an ever-growing influence on the course of world development. This was reaffirmed during the GDR 30th anniversary celebrations attended by the USSR party and government delegation headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and delegations from the other fraternal countries.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers expressed complete satisfaction with the results of the Soviet delegation's official friendly visit to the GDR and stressed that this visit was an event of outstanding significance both in terms of further strengthening collaboration between the CPSU and SED and USSR and GDR and from the viewpoint of the vital interests of peace and international security.

During the jubilee celebrations Comrade L. I. Brezhnev delivered to the whole world from Berlin a speech which immediately became the focus of world public attention. It put forward Soviet proposals aimed at imparting new impetus to the relaxation of international tension and halting the dangerous intrigues of the imperialist forces of war and aggression. These proposals are a striking manifestation of the Soviet peace policy and convincing evidence of the Soviet Union's genuine concern for maintaining and consolidating security in Europe and throughout the world.

In an attempt to break the deadlock hampering the long efforts to achieve military detente in Europe and to set an example of switching from words to real action, the Soviet Union, by agreement with the GDR and after consultation with the other Warsaw Pact states, decided to reduce unilaterally the strength of Soviet forces in Central Europe. Our country also expressed a

readiness to reduce the present level of medium-range nuclear missiles deployed in the western part of the USSR, but only on condition that additional medium-range nuclear missiles are not deployed in Western Europe.

The Soviet Union's firm and consistent peace-loving foreign policy, determined by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congress decisions, and the new Soviet initiative in keeping with the vital interests of all peoples meet with the warm approval and support of all Soviet people. Of fundamental importance is the fact that the new Soviet initiative has the full support of the GDR and the other fraternal socialist community countries. The world public regards it as a major international event intended to impart powerful impetus to the detente process and to really insure all European peoples a secure and peaceful life.

The Soviet initiative is all the more significant since it was undertaken in a situation where the participants in the aggressive NATO bloc are developing the arms race on an unprecedented scale and exploiting any pretext to hot up the situation and spur on military preparations, thereby jeopardizing peace and the peoples' security.

The situation could become particularly dangerous in Europe, where there are plans to undermine the edifice of peace, indeed its very foundation, by deploying approximately 600 American Pershing-2 missiles and ground-based cruise missiles there. This means the creation in Western Europe of new bridgeheads for American nuclear missile weapons aimed at the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact socialist states. The implementation of these plans would substantially alter the strategic situation on the continent. Their purpose is to disrupt the prevailing balance of forces in Europe and to try to secure military superiority for the NATO bloc.

Naturally, the socialist countries cannot sit back and watch the NATO militarists' efforts. If NATO's plans were implemented, the Warsaw Pact states would have to take the necessary extra steps to strengthen their security. The NATO strategists must realize that the Soviet Union is not seeking military superiority, but nor will it allow the other side to have military superiority.

The leaders of the FRG and the other European NATO countries where it is planned to deploy the new types of American nuclear missile weapons must realize that it is dangerous to play with fire. Indeed, any country which allows weapons directed against another country to be deployed on its territory is endangering its own people.

NATO figures are trying to justify their plans by citing the "Soviet military threat." But, as is known, Soviet intentions do not imply and never have implied a threat to anyone. This is reaffirmed in most convincing fashion by the new Soviet peace initiative. "In Europe," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed, "and in all other parts of the world we want peace, lasting peace. This is the fundamental basis of our foreign policy, its backbone, and we are pursuing this policy consistently and unswervingly."

[LD170955] The new Soviet initiative was not to the taste of the arms race champions and opponents of detente. Unable to deny the positive nature of the Soviet initiative, they are hard at work seeking far-fetched arguments for the implementation of their dangerous plans. The U.S. President said that he still considers it his purpose to try to make the Western European NATO allies agree to deploy the new American missiles in West Europe. The reactionary press and NATO figures are doing their best to play down the significance of the Soviet proposals and distort their essence naggingly reiterating the old, fantastical lies about the "Soviet military threat" and sowing suspicion and fear.

Soviet troops join the rest of our people in warmly approving and supporting the Soviet peace initiative. The troops of the Soviet armed forces see it as their task to discharge their military duty in exemplary fashion and to step up vigilance in the face of the intrigues of the enemies of peace and socialism. Our army and navy personnel will continue persistently and purposefully to strengthen our great motherland's defense might and their combat readiness. The Soviet armed forces are vigilantly keeping watch over peace and socialism together with the armies of the fraternal Warsaw Pact countries.

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

'PRAVDA' REPORTS AKEL BACKS CYPRUS GOVERNMENT'S UN APPEAL ON SETTLEMENT

LD291205 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 79 p 4 LD

[Own correspondent V. Drobkov dispatch: "Important Contribution"]

[Text] Nicosia, 23 Oct--The AKEL Central Committee Politburo published a statement today which notes that AKEL advocates a settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the UN decisions envisaging the guaranteeing of the republic's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect for the nonaligned policy that it is pursuing, withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island and the safe return of refugees to their homes. The AKEL Central Committee Politburo supported the new appeal by the Cypriot Government to the United Nations. The statement also supports the idea of convening an international conference on Cyprus under UN auspices.

The AKEL Central Committee Politburo rated highly the proposals made by L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, aimed at the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. The AKEL Central Committee Politburo, the statement observes, supports the Soviet proposals, which are a tremendous contribution to the cause of military detente and to the cause of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. The AKEL Central Committee Politburo expresses confidence that the USSR proposals are supported by the vast majority of the Cypriot people and by the Cypriot Government which has already welcomed the Soviet proposals because they accord with the vital interests of the Cypriots.

CSO: 1800

SOVIET-FINNISH COORDINATION OF INFORMATION

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 41, 5-11 Oct 79 p 16

[Article by V. Zaychikov, Helsinki: "Honest Information--The Key to Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Cooperation between the USSR and Finland embraces the most varied fields in the material and spiritual life of our two countries, bringing good fruits for the good of peace in the entire world. Recently, Soviet-Finnish cooperation is providing extremely favorable results in a new and important field--the exchange of information which is an example of the joint use of the press, radio, and other mass media in the interests of strengthening peace and friendship between peoples.

Based on confidence, Soviet-Finnish cooperation is traditionally defined as a universally recognized example of practical implementation of the principles of coexistence of states with different social systems. But, perhaps, unjustifiably little attention is devoted here to such a sphere of mutual relations as mass information. But you see, even in an extremely concentrated speech in Helsinki at the concluding stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe the head of the Soviet delegation, L.I. Brezhnev, devoted an extremely prominent place to this problem, also defining its specific nature with comprehensive clarity: "The possibilities for cooperation are now also being extended to fields where it was unthinkable in the years of the 'cold war.' For example, wider exchanges of information in the interests of peace and friendship between peoples."

The very possibility for cooperation in the field of information appeared under conditions of detente. For the development of economic, scientific-technical, or cultural cooperation is unthinkable under conditions where the overwhelming portion of the mass media would create a public opinion which counteracts these goals, sows the seeds of discord, and increases tension in relations between peoples and states.

Proving to be the pioneers on the paths to peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems by the will of history more than 35 years ago, the

Soviet Union and Finland were to come to the realization of the necessity to find ways for cooperation in the field of information, too, earlier than others.

Still two years before the all-European conference at the highest interstate level, a decision was adopted and two years after the signing of the Final Statement in Helsinki it was confirmed in a joint communique which read: "The Soviet Union and Finland declare that they will henceforth encourage energetically everything which may assist in the mutual acquaintance of the Soviet and Finnish peoples with their life and culture and in the strengthening of mutual understanding and mutual confidence. The attainment of these goals will be furthered by the more active exchange in the field of radio, television, art, the cinema, education, enlightenment, and sport as well as by the expansion of contacts between the corresponding organizations of both countries. It was also noted that the mass media, displaying proper responsibility and a businesslike approach, are called upon to serve the important cause of a further strengthening of friendship and confidence between the peoples of the USSR and Finland and to refrain from inflicting harm on the favorable development of friendly relations between both countries."

There is no need to prove what a difficult matter the accomplishment of these provisions in practice is. For nowhere can one avoid recognition of the indisputable fact that information is both the field and the means for the ideological struggle which is inevitable in the contemporary world even with the most favorable development of the process of detente. On the other hand, it is unquestionable that the situation in the world, including the fate of detente itself, depends greatly on the direction in which the mass media influence people.

As a result of persistent, purposeful searches, real paths for cooperation between the information organs of our countries gradually opened up. This difficult process was examined comprehensively at a seminar organized by the "Finland-Soviet Union Society" which was concluded in Helsinki recently.

The significance of the successes attained in this field received a high evaluation already in the opening greetings of the Finnish foreign minister, P. Vyayuryunen [as transliterated] and the Soviet ambassador, V.M. Sobolev.

Twelve editors-in-chief of Finnish newspapers and leading radio and television personnel as well as 14 information secretaries from political parties and various associations took part in the seminar. Along with all the capital newspapers without exception, the provinces were widely and adequately represented. Finnish investigators in the field of journalism were active participants in the discussions in one of the three sections.

An imposing delegation under the leadership of candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and editor-in-chief of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA [Soviet Culture], A.V. Romanov, arrived from the Soviet Union.

With good reason, the Soviet journalists could report on the strict observance of their part of the obligations within the framework of cooperation. No lines emerged from beneath their pens which, with the strictest approach, could be evaluated as detrimental to the good-neighbor relations between our countries.

In the concluding communique it was correctly noted that discussions at the seminar were conducted openly and honestly. Both sides proceeded on the basis that peaceful coexistence presumes the conduct of a natural ideological argument by methods which correspond to the understandings which were stated more than four years ago in the capital of Finland at the all-European conference.

Correct initial principles help in finding a mutually acceptable framework of specific agreements between the Soviet information organs and the growing number of Finnish newspapers, journals and publishing houses, television and radio, press services of political parties, trade-union centers, youth alliances, and other public organizations.

Noting what has been attained with satisfaction and evaluating the prospects which are opening up optimistically, the seminar participants spoke openly, and at times with a justified dose of concern, about problems which are present. Without regard here to the numerous specific proposals which were directed toward improving cooperation, it should be said that the Finnish participants in the seminar noted "with regret" that "some influential newspapers nevertheless publish materials which are unfriendly in regard to the Soviet Union." Stressing the responsibility of journalists for the careful use of such a powerful weapon as the word, the editor-in-chief of the leading newspaper of the Center Party, SUOMENAA [as transliterated], Seppo Sarlund, said: "Each one is obliged to consider his words in order to avoid 'broken windows' whose repair is always a much more difficult process than their frivolous destruction. Good-neighborly Soviet-Finnish relations are the most substantial element in Finland's foreign policy and they should always be protected as the apple of our eye."

Also discussed on the seminar were the unceasing attempts from outside to disrupt the fruitful development of Soviet-Finnish relations which are like an eyesore for those who come out against detente and improvement of the international climate. The president of the Republic of Finland, U. Kekkonen, has recently called attention to intrigues of this type many times.

The Finnish and Soviet journalists were unanimous in acknowledging the necessity to multiply joint efforts in the struggle against misinformation. It is written in the documents of the seminar: "Journalists and the press should proceed on the basis of the Concluding Statement and the UNESCO Declaration concerning the principles for the activity of the mass media organs and come forth in favor of peace, detente, disarmament, and friendship between peoples." Recommendations were adopted concerning the elaboration of ethical norms of journalism which follow from these principles, among which truthfulness of information has been put in first place.

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CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

FOREIGN GUESTS 'ACTIVE' AT SEPTEMBER SUSHANBE SYMPOSIUM

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 41 Oct 79 p 24

[Article by O. Volgin]

[Text]

Soviet religious leaders and 32 prominent Moslem clergymen from 25 other countries representing national and international Moslem associations gathered in September in Dushanbe, capital of Soviet Tajikistan, to discuss the contribution of Moslems of Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Volga area to Moslem thought and the cause of peace and social progress.

The symposium was one of the events held to mark the advent of the 15th century of the era of the Hejira, the flight from Mecca to Medina, 1,400 years ago this coming November, of Mohammed, the Prophet. The Hejira is the starting point of the Moslem calendar and its anniversary is celebrated by Moslems throughout the world.

Addressing the symposium, Mufti Ziyautdinkhan ibn Ishan Babakhan, head of the Central Asian and Kazakhstan Moslem Board, said the striving of Moslem working people for a life based on social and national equality had come true in Soviet society. He also expressed regret that there were Moslems who believed the lies which are spread by the reactionary forces to give a distorted picture of the position of the peoples of the Soviet East and which are used by the enemies of co-operation between Moslem countries and the Soviet Union.

Foreign guests took an active part in the discussion. They highly assessed the contribution to world science and culture made by the great Moslem scientists of the Middle Ages who lived on what is now the territory of the Soviet Union, as well as of the efforts of Soviet Moslems to promote the cause of peace and friendship among nations in our day. Inamullah Khan of Pakistan, General Secretary of the World Moslem Congress, said the millions of people professing Islam in some 40 countries were gratified to learn that their fellow Moslems in the Soviet Union had been one of the first to start preparations to mark the 15th century of the Moslem calendar. On behalf of the organization he represented he conveyed greetings to the U.S.S.R. State Council for Religious Affairs which exercises control over the observance of the Soviet Fundamental Law as regards freedom of religious worship.

Supreme Mufti Muhammed Zabara of North Yemen noted the progress achieved by Soviet people in all areas of life, in particular the high material and cultural standards of Soviet Moslems and the full equality they enjoy with Soviet people professing other faiths in the first country of victorious socialism.

Kemal Tarzi of Tunisia, head of the Prime Minister's Office on Religious Affairs, said the people of various nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union were engaged in vast constructive work for their own benefit and for the benefit of all other peoples.

Many speakers stressed the need to strive for a better moral and political climate in the world, for the promotion of co-operation among the nations, and for success in the common struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism and Zionism. The communiqué, which was adopted unanimously, was expressive of these sentiments, of the participants' anti-imperialist stand and their desire to see the arms drive checked. They also welcomed the SALT-2 treaty as an important step towards disarmament.

The representatives of the world's Moslems demanded the complete withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories it has unlawfully occupied, reaffirmed their recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine and came out in support of their right to self-determination and independent statehood, stigmatizing the advocates of separate deals with Israel as traitors to the cause of Islam and the interests of the Arab peoples.

The session declared its solidarity with the peoples of Iran and Afghanistan and strongly condemned the designs of imperialists and their stooges to restore regimes of oppression in these countries.

The symposium in Dushanbe has demonstrated once again that influential forces opposed to imperialism, attempts to make religion serve reactionary, inhuman ends are gaining ground in the present-day world Islamic movement. The Islamic religious leaders of Asia, Africa and Europe gave their enthusiastic approval to the call of Soviet Moslem associations to spare no effort to make the 15th century of the Hejira a century of durable peace, disarmament, justice and friendship among the nations.

INTERNATIONAL

FINAL VOLUME OF 'HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY' REVIEWED

LD111355 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 79 morning edition p 5 LD

[Article by Academician Ye. Zhukov: "Following the Course of Peace and Detente"]

[Text] In the past 20 years world historical development has become exceptionally dynamic. Many important international processes which had only just begun to emerge have attained their full expression and have become determining factors of social progress.

The chief characteristic of the development of international relations in the sixties and seventies is the tremendous growth of the influence and prestige of advanced socialist social relations embodied in the foreign policy activity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. The entire international activity of the USSR and the other socialist countries linked to it by ties of friendship and alliance is based on concern for preserving peace, active opposition to the imperialist forces' aggressive policy and the struggle to end the dangerous arms race and create the requisite conditions for mutually advantageous cooperation among states irrespective of their sociopolitical systems.

These tasks are undoubtedly related. Without doubt they are subordinated to a single goal--to consolidate and deepen the process of the relaxation of tension in international relations and thus avert the danger of a new world war. It is clear from this that the socialist countries' high foreign policy activeness is in keeping with the vital interests of mankind as a whole as well as of these countries themselves. World socialism's foreign policy activity clearly expresses its humanist nature, demonstrates the incompatibility of socialism and aggression and reveals the profoundly progressive role of the socialist system in the onward movement of mankind.

World socialism's concrete foreign policy activeness embraces practically all continents and is manifested in a large number of positive measures or countermeasures directed against the intrigues of imperialist reaction. The 20 years embracing the sixties and seventies provide a wealth of material illustrating, in particular, the tireless efforts of the USSR and its allies to prevent a return to the regrettable days of the cold war.

Many difficulties have appeared and continue to appear on the path to attaining this noble goal. There are still people fond of spreading the myth of the "Soviet military threat," who are trying to justify the "legitimization" of the constant escalation of costly arms which enriches the military industrialists but at the same time poses a real threat to general peace. Propaganda campaigns artificially fanned by the imperialists are regularly used to distort the essence of the socialist countries' foreign policy actions, in particular to discredit the measures they are taking to help the peoples uphold their independence against encroachments by imperialist forces and their agents.

The activeness of Soviet diplomacy is based entirely on the guidelines of V. I. Lenin who was a principled opponent of the "export of revolution" but at the same time deemed it necessary to give as much support as possible to all peoples who sought help from the world's first socialist state in their just struggle against imperialist oppressors.

The second and last book of Volume 5 of the "History of Diplomacy" has just been published. This concludes the publication of this fundamental work, bringing the history of diplomacy virtually up to date. [Note: "Istoriya Diplomatii" Second Edition, (Edited by A. A. Gromyko, I. N. Zemskov, V. A. Zorin, V. S. Semenov and S. L. Tikhvinskiy), Volume 5 Book 2)].

Volume 5 Book 2 covers a period filled with major events. These events are evidence of the irreversible processes involved in the weakening of international imperialism which is nonetheless very active and represents a threat to general peace. This makes the high activeness of socialist diplomacy all the more significant.

The final volume of the "History of Diplomacy" is a striking treatment of such important international processes as the unswerving cohesion of the socialist community countries' acting in concert in the international arena. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out with absolute justification that "sincere feelings of friendship, comradely interest in each other's successes, the realization of a common destiny, mutual sympathy and respect are becoming more and more deeply instilled in the consciousness of millions and millions of people. This is what makes the great family of socialist countries strong and powerful." As for our opponents, let them "have no illusions! The cohesion of the socialist community is unbreakable. All that the enemies of socialism have so far done in order to break our ranks and to frustrate our coordination has had the opposite effect."

The establishment of lasting peace on the European continent, which has often been an arena of bloody wars in the past, has had and still has colossal significance. The culmination of this process was the conference on security and cooperation in Europe. The "declaration of the principles which will guide the participating states in their mutual relations," adopted by the conference, was based on Lenin's idea that peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems is possible and necessary.

This dictated the need to acknowledge the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of the states party to the agreement, their unconditional equality and the peoples' right to rule their own destinies. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized to the Helsinki Conference: "The people of each state, and they alone have the sovereign right to decide their internal affairs and establish their internal laws. Any other approach is a fragile and dangerous basis for international cooperation."

[LD111357] Soviet diplomacy has always concentrated on moving away from confrontation with the capitalist states toward constructive talks on the relaxation of international tension. Personal contacts between state heads and foreign policy leaders and other countries' statesmen have played a very positive part in this very important matter. Comrade A. A. Gromyko's visit to France in 1965 prepared the ground for Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's trip to that country and his successful talks with the French leaders. The subsequent summit meetings and talks between the two countries' leaders were a considerable contribution to the general normalization of the international situation and the signing of important documents aimed at promoting the cause of detente and disarmament.

Considerable difficulties had to be overcome on the path of improving relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG. However, the treaty between the two states signed 12 August 1970 laid a good foundation for a positive shift in relations between the USSR and the FRG. The opportunity emerged for direct contacts between the USSR and FRG leaders, which made a widespread international impact and exerted a significant influence on the process of the relaxation of tension in Europe.

The most complex and at the same time the most important sphere of Soviet diplomacy's activity has been the effort to clear away the mound of contradictions with the capitalist world's chief power--the United States. The revision of the U.S. ruling circles' prejudiced, hostile attitude was an extremely slow and grinding process. At the 24th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev talked about the reality of improving relations between the two powers. Comrade A. A. Gromyko's speech stressed that "the Soviet Union advocates normal relations with the United States. It recognizes the possibility of an improvement in Soviet-American relations.... By no means always, to put it mildly, does the American side appear ready to do this. We do not want talks that are like a fencing match. We do not want the talks participants to be tripping each other up but to be really seeking agreements." In 1971-1972 there were important positive shifts in Soviet-American relations and a number of documents were signed, including the agreement on measures to reduce the danger of the outbreak of nuclear war between the USSR and the United States. The quadripartite agreement on the status of West Berlin had been signed somewhat earlier.

The subsequent reciprocal summit-level visits of USSR and U.S. leaders led to the signing of important documents such as the "Basic Principles of Relations Between the Soviet Union and the United States of America," the "Treaty

on the Limitation of ABM Systems" and the "Interim Agreement on Certain Measures With Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms." These documents are signed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, who made an enormous personal contribution to the cause of easing international tension.

A meeting was held 23-24 November 1974 near Vladivostok between L. I. Brezhnev and U.S. President G. Ford. Both sides confirmed their intention to conclude a long-term agreement on the question of strategic offensive arms limitation (SALT II).

Opponents to the improvement of Soviet-American relations, representatives and stooges of the military-industrial complex who profit from the arms race, Zionist circles and other reactionary forces sought from the U.S. government a departure from the earlier agreed measures aimed at deepening detente. Prolonged discussions began anew on questions of elaborating a new Soviet-American strategic offensive arms limitation agreement. The talks became more complex through the artificial exaggeration of a number of foreign policy issues on which the USSR and the United States occupy differing and sometimes opposing positions. Once again anti-Soviet propagandists launched the wild idea "of the growing military might of the aggressive Soviet Union."

However, despite all the efforts of the advocates of a return to cold war a meeting was held in Vienna 15-18 June 1979 between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and U.S. President J. Carter. A treaty between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of strategic offensive arms (SALT II) and other related documents were signed. The essence of the SALT II treaty consists in a reasonable compromise taking into account the interests of both sides and containing a quantitative arms limitation and a check on their qualitative improvement.

The second part of Volume 5 of the "History of Diplomacy" contains extremely rich factual material describing the circumstances of the victory of the forces of peace and socialism in Southeast Asia, and other problems of insuring peace and security on the Asian continent. A special chapter is devoted to international relations and diplomacy in the Far East, where the Beijing leadership's unseemly role is revealed to the full. Alongside this special chapter set forth the diplomatic history of imperialism's aggression in the Near and Middle East, and notes the great political significance of the entry of the young African states into the world arena and of their growing diplomatic activity. Analyzing in detail the state of international relations and diplomacy in the developing countries, the book under review describes the nonaligned movement as an important independent factor in international politics. Very recently this movement demonstrated its increased authority at the Havana Conference of Nonaligned States.

[LD111359] The final part of Volume 5 of the "History of Diplomacy" gives a full and well-documented treatment of the Soviet Union's tireless struggle for an end to the arms race and for disarmament, and of the active diplomacy of the USSR and other socialist community countries in the United Nations and its specialized institutions. "To cherish our earth and hand it on to

the young generation in all its richness and beauty, unspoiled by the flame of nuclear conflagration"--this is what, in our opinion, mankind's thoughts must be directed toward," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said. This noble task is central to the Soviet Union's entire international activity.

The multivolume edition of the "History of Diplomacy" which ends with this book contains the richest material confirming this tenet. The final volume represents an important contribution to the scientific elaboration of urgent problems of modern international relations and is a fundamental research of the period of detente.

I would like to note not only the fullness of exposition of the documentary materials which relate directly to the history of diplomacy but also to the extremely useful practical information contained in the appendixes on the methods and the organizational forms of modern diplomatic activity.

The worthy completion of so important and so necessary a publication as the "History of Diplomacy" is without doubt a major event in the publication of Marxist-Leninist literature in our country.

CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

UZBEK PAPER REPORTS 'PRAVDA'S' FORMAT PLANS FOR 1980

LD051441 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Sep 79 p 4 LD

[Unattributed report: "PRAVDA-1980"]

[Text] PRAVDA, organ of the CPSU Central Committee and the country's first and chief newspaper, appears every day--workdays and holidays alike. Its voice is that of our party and of the Soviet people--which is heard on every continent on earth, and its pages chronicle the most important events in the land of the soviets and abroad.

The main feature of PRAVDA's format in 1980 will be to elucidate in depth the party's domestic and foreign policy at the contemporary stage and to mobilize the masses to successfully fulfill the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The newspaper will provide extensive coverage of questions concerning the improvement of the work of party committees and organizations, the consolidation of communists' leading role in production and in public life, and the further development of intraparty democracy, criticism and self-criticism. It will continue to publish items on the consolidation of a Leninist work style, the practical work done by primary party organizations, the comprehensive approach to communist education, and party members' moral duty.

In the feature section questions of theory the reader will find articles which will help him to gain a fuller understanding of topical problems in our society's development, the features and characteristics of mature socialism, the ways in which socialist statesmanship and democracy may be further improved and the course of international development and the prospects for the modern world revolutionary process.

In its daily coverage of nationwide socialist competition, PRAVDA will reveal everything of value which comes out of this mass patriotic movement and will provide run-downs on the methods and forms of its organization. As well as showing labor prowess, bold and innovatory questing and labor collectives' increasing role in fulfilling plans for economic

and social development, it is planned to devote a lot of attention to competition's high moral values and to developing a communist attitude to labor.

PRAVDA's attention will continue to be focused on the problems entailed in economic building, increasing production efficiency and improving work quality. It will continue to deal with questions relating to improving the economic mechanism and to planning and management.

In view of readers' increasing interest in them, questions of trade, the provision of cultural, consumer and medical facilities and the protection of the environment will be given prominence in PRAVDA. In 1980 you will become acquainted with Soviet scientists' latest achievements and the work of scientific research institutes, laboratories and expeditions. Items on the work of higher and secondary schools and on the rising generation's education will also be a regular feature. Articles by authors, artists, composers and artistes, as well as reviews of new works of literature and art will appear regularly.

The editorial board receives more than 1.5 million readers' letters a year. We read the views of working people, workers and rural correspondents in the newspaper every day. This is a firm Leninist tradition of PRAVDA's and you will continue to find special letters columns, reviews of comments, the "Reader's View" columns and the "Following Up Your Letters" reports. The worker-correspondent aktiv will also be extensively represented on the "People's Control Page."

More than two pages in every issue of the newspaper will be devoted to international life. The international reviews, the columns containing news items from the socialist countries, the commentator's columns and various items on the implementation of the program of further struggle for peace, international cooperation, freedom and the peoples' independence elaborated by the 25th CPSU Congress will continue to appear in 1980.

The year 1980 is Olympic year. Next summer the world Olympics are to be held for the first time ever in the capital of a socialist state--our Moscow. PRAVDA will give a worthy place to the preparations for this event which is attracting the whole world's attention and will provide extensive coverage of the course of the games themselves and of their results and significance.

In reading PRAVDA you will find a loyal adviser and friend who, using the publicistic word, can reveal the magnitude of our deeds and of the Soviet people's struggle to achieve new successes in communist building.

CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

YURIY ORLOV ON PRISON CONDITIONS

Number Imprisoned Estimated

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 14 Sep 79 pp 1, 21

[Text] On 18 May 1978, dissident physicist Yuriy Orlov was sentenced to the maximum penalty specified by the law on anti-Soviet agitation: 7 years in a labor camp followed by 5 years of deportation. Today he is in a camp in Perm (in the Urals), from which he passed out a manuscript which seems to be a report on the penitentiary system in the Soviet Union in the post-Stalinist period.

Written under difficult conditions, this text, which LA LIBRE BELGIQUE is publishing for the first time thanks to Mr Anthony de Meeus, the director of "Cahiers du Samizdat,"* gives for the first time a calculated estimate of the number of persons imprisoned today in the USSR. This report, whose second chapter will be published in our next few issues, reached the West in the form of a notebook with approximately 20 typewritten pages. It is rather remarkable for the tone of the author which avoided any impassioned emphasis during its writing. It undoubtedly dates back to last February.

The main point in the problem of the prisoners in the USSR is the large number of persons deprived of liberty, totally or partially, through court decisions or through administrative channels. Under one form or another, all these persons are subjected to forced labor. Their number is kept secret, but it lends itself to a rough estimate. The prisoners (...)

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105, drev de Duc, 1170 Brussels.

from various camps, the deportees, the exiles, when they meet during transfers, in instruction isolators and prisons, compare their observations as to the number of persons imprisoned. The majority agree in estimating that the total number of prisoners, including those in training prisons and in treatment and labor preventorium (LTP), for persons declared alcoholics, is not less than 3 million, and the total number of persons subjected to forced labor is not less than 5 million, that is, it is in the order of 2 percent of the population.

It must be noted that if the standing army of unemployed is a typical evil of the capitalist system, on the other hand, the almost equally large standing army of persons subjected to forced labor is a typical evil of "true socialism" with a totalitarian tendency. Soviet propaganda emphasizes with reason that the idea of civil rights and liberties in the Soviet Union and the West is fundamentally different. It grossly misleads world public opinion by affirming that the Soviet conception automatically conforms with the feelings of the majority of the workers.

There are obvious connections between the appearance of millions of people thrown out of a normal existence and the economic, social and political characteristics of the prevailing system of society. Of course, in any society there is some minority with marginal tendencies in comparison with the established framework. But it is hardly credible that in Soviet society the percentage of this type of person is ten times greater than what it is in the West. And yet this is actually the approximate relation between the number of prisoners in the USSR and, let us say, in the United States: 250,000 according to Soviet data.

It can therefore be affirmed that the overwhelming majority of Soviet prisoners find themselves behind barbed wire after actions resulting from the general conditions of existence. Of course, this does not mean that we wish to justify violence or theft. We are only indicating the existence of a collective accomplice: the socioeconomic and political system. The prisoners, for the most part, come from the ranks of the workers and peasants, and in the camps they are themselves laborers. The large majority of convictions concern crimes of violence, theft, highway robbery, burglary, misappropriation at different scales. A considerable part of the crimes are committed under the influence of alcohol, the percentage of drunkards is considerable and the LTP's constitute a significant fraction of the total number of camps.

These faults are characteristic of any modern industrial society. The anomaly here rests not in their presence but in the extraordinary scale of the phenomenon.

Among the causes the following factors can be cited:

1. the lack of a distraction which would turn the people, especially the youth, away from alcoholism and crime. Thought could be given to participation in the collective struggle for the standard of living, for rights to have demonstrations other than those organized by the government, or strikes, etc.;

2. the lack of the possibility of creating an independent enterprise (without the utilization of the work of others). There is a series of trends of activity in the sphere of services, of the supply of certain types of products to the population, etc., in which private initiative would raise the general standard of living;
3. the refusal of part of the citizens to resign themselves to chronic (unreadable part) in comparison with the Western level, of which they are aware, and in comparison with the supply facilities which the ruling minority enjoys. Let us emphasize again that we do not mean to justify the crimes committed for this motive, but we are indicating the conditions which engender them. The state proclaims that it wants to insure the population a high standard of living; nevertheless it is not able to insure it in actual fact in many areas;
4. the loss of faith in moral principles on the part of youth, resulting both from persecutions of a religious and ethical nature and from disappointments with regard to the ideology of the state;
5. the prohibition on informing society concerning such questions as the number of criminals and the dynamic growth in crime, the number of prisoners and their imprisonment system, the inhuman treatment, etc.;
6. the existence of some state profit-sharing in the utilization of forced labor. The inadequate remuneration for labor, the bad conditions, results in a shortage of manpower in certain industrial sectors. The prisoners and the "khimiki" (editor's note: the prisoners who are released early with conditions but who are subjected to labor) play, as it were, the role of "strike breakers" by replacing the workers;
7. the inhuman principle of "rehabilitation" in accordance with which long imprisonment penalties, cruel conditions of confinement, general preponderance of means of intimidation and the ineluctability of punishment constitute the best method of ridding society of crime. In reality, as the officials themselves recognize in private, the "corrective" criminal camps are veritable schools of crime, of amorality, where man is ruthless, where, because of the legalized scarcity of food and goods, speculation and primitive predatory relations among the men flourish, for actual life is stronger than slogans. We are drawing the attention of trade unions and other labor organizations to the fact that the USSR is an industrially developed country in which a proletariat, in the most primitive sense of the term, remains. The situation of millions of citizens, engaged in forced labor, can be compared to that of the self-laborers of the Ural, belonging to a time which ended long ago.

One must bear in mind that not only political prisoners but also a considerable number of common law prisoners have been convicted unjustly, even from a strict point of view or, in any case, cruelly. It is the result of judicial arbitrariness, and in particular the arbitrariness which reigns in the preliminary investigatory apparatus.

The system of confinement for all categories of prisoners contains, in numerous respects, flagrant violations of the international agreements signed by the USSR on the subject of human rights. Unfortunately, obtaining reliable information on the human rights violations in the camps for common law prisoners, the prisons and work places of the khimiki is (... unreadable). Such information could be furnished by those convicted under Art. 190,* believers and other persons whose statements it would be possible to check.

Based on the complaints expressed by numerous prisoners whom political prisoners have met, one can speak with certainty about the poor diet in the prisons and the majority of the labor camps, the low wages in numerous work places of the khimiki, maltreatment in some prisons (that in Balachov, for example), the distressing conditions of the "transits," the poor medical monitoring in some camps (for example, in Mordovie), the oppressive effect of certain camps in which barbed wire encircles each hut a few meters away from its walls, and so on. Information on the situation of political prisoners is much more detailed and despite the repressions it has systematically reached beyond the camps and prisons for years.

The policy conducted in the country on national matters is reflected in the national representation within the political camps. Among the prisoners of the camps of Mordovie and the Ural, the Ukrainians amount to 30 to 40 percent and sometimes more, the Baltics represent nearly 30 percent, the Russians and representatives of the other peoples of the USSR number less than 30 percent. As a matter of fact, it was the Ukrainians who supported the principal burden of the struggle against the arbitrariness in the Stalinist camps, as they still do today. The drafters of the report of the U.S. Congressional committee, on the day preceding the Belgrade meeting, expressed their surprise concerning the large number of punishments which the prisoners in the USSR are subjected to. But, in fact, the Soviet penitentiary system aims at the destruction of the personality, the personality insofar as it can survive only in resistance, resistance, whatever the consequences may be.

We, convicted members of the Helsinki Group, now have the opportunity to personally observe the situation, and we can say that all previous information was exact. Moreover, the life of political prisoners is more dramatic in a number of details than it appears from the necessarily laconic communications originating from the places of imprisonment: the ill are more ill, the annoyances and punishments more absurd and more unprovoked.

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Editor's note: Art. 190-1 of the Penal Code of Russia, to which the author undoubtedly alludes, relates to the "dissemination of knowingly false assertions calumniating the social and governmental system." Sentences under this article are less serious than those repressing "anti-Soviet agitation" (Art. 70). Prisoners usually serve them in common law camps where they are mixed with other prisoners, rather than in political camps.

The report which we will submit essentially summarizes the situation in political camp No 35 in which we have been for about 2 years. Note must be made of an improvement in the situation during the last few months and weeks, but one cannot see clearly to what degree these changes are stable, and if it is not a question of a temporary tactic.

Constraints of place and other difficulties resulted in a whole mass of facts not being able to be included in this report.

Movement of Prisoners

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 15/16 Sep 79 pp 1, 26

[Text] In a leading article, which appeared in our issues dated Friday 14 September, Soviet physicist Yuriy Orlov (who is presently serving a sentence of 7 years in a labor camp in Perm, in the Urals) estimated at 5 million persons the number of Soviets subjected to forced labor.

Today, LA LIBRE BELGIQUE is publishing a second part of this unedited report. It is devoted to the conditions during prisoner transfers, to which Solzhenitsyn devoted a few remarkable pages in "The Gulag Archipelago." Mr Anthony de Meeus, the director of "Cahiers du Samizdat," who worked out the translation, specifically states that the word "etape" in Russian--it holds a very important place in the jargon of the camps in the USSR--occurs in the French translation as the word "transit." It concerns the repeated transfers of all types of prisoners (political, common law, deportees) which the central administration institutes. These journeys are made in more or less large trains, from one "transit" prison to another, a network of which covers the entire territory.

Yuriy Orlov:

We knew that the "transits" were painful but we could not imagine to what point, in the majority of cases, they are an ordeal for the prisoners. They are unbelievably long, from seven to ten times longer than a normal transfer.

At each stop, the prisoners are made to get out of the cars, the stolypines,* in order to cram them together in the voronki** from which they are led into the premises of the "transit" prison which they will leave in order to return to the train. "Faster, faster...." In place of the dots there is usually an obscenity. Machine-guns, dogs, "sit down-stand up," searching, more

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Stolypine: closed railroad car, used to transport prisoners.

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Voronki: police van.

searching, and so on. For the prisoner, loaded with his baggage, this turns into a nightmare. It is true that the possessions of the majority of common law prisoners amounts to a small bundle.

With regard to the ill, the escorting soldiers, as a general rule, show no compassion. They must move about in the same manner as all the other prisoners, accompanied by profane oaths and blows. Even worse: when a prisoner who is seriously ill must be transported to the prison hospital, he covers the journey in the usual manner, if his legs can support himself at all. In the majority of the cases which we were able to observe, in the same manner as other political prisoners, the sick are not accompanied by a doctor or a nurse.

If the hospital is not far, the sick person is transported in the usual van. Since the road is full of ruts, he is tossed about enough to lose his breath. V. Martchenko relates that during the transfer of prisoners, from the rail-road station to the "transit" prison in Kazan, on 7 April 1978, 28 prisoners were squeezed into a van designed for only a few persons. They were left in the sun, in this metallic van, for more than an hour in the prison courtyard, as is the practice. The prisoners were suffocating. They implored the escort to leave them out, but without result. Martchenko also reports that on 24 April, he was made to enter with Zeitounyanine and Tsioss into an individual cell where even one is cramped for room. They were only taken out at the end of half an hour. Other prisoners, left in the cell of nonpolitical prisoners, for their part, had to wait several hours. In the "transit" prisons' vans and so-called waiting cells, which are confined, filthy and without toilets, the prisoners wait for hours. The small foul-smelling cells for one or two prisoners are even worse. In July 78, Z. Antoniuk spent an entire week in such a "box"--at the time of his transfer from the Vladimir prison to camp No 35 in the Urals. Antoniuk caught osseous tuberculosis and a serious kidney disorder.

Each cell in the stolypine car is the size of a compartment or half of a compartment. It has no windows and is separated from the corridor, where a guard moves about, by a grilled wall. The bathroom's windows are painted over or closed over. The ventilation is disconnected. Normally, two or three persons can sleep in these types of compartments. The prisoners who are crowded into it--they remain there from 1 to 3 days--number from 14 to 18 or from 5 to 6, according to the compartments. When the journey is shorter (a few hours), up to 25 prisoners are squeezed in. The toilets have no water. It is not possible to wash. There is no bedding, it's obvious.

In most cases, the escorting soldiers are vulgar and shameless men. They give something to drink or take the prisoners to the toilets only when the entire contingent in the car begins to bang on the gratings with their feet, which happens two, three or four times a day.

At each halting place, the prisoner receives about 600 grams of bread, an average size herring and 20 grams of sugar. When, on the Moscow-Kirov journey, in June 1978, I asked the escort to give me something to drink, he replied: "Take out the metal tube hidden in your anus." I had been placed in a semi-compartment with two old men with tuberculosis who walked holding each other up. Without asking permission to go to the toilets, one of them urinated in a cellophane bag, half of which he dropped on the ground. Later, in order to isolate them from a political prisoner, they were transferred into another cell full to the bursting point. When one of the old men wanted to sleep, the escort did not allow him.

Another prisoner, V. Lissovoy, after having begged to be taken to the toilets, had to urinate in a makeshift bottle which he found in the compartment. In August, 1977, at the prison in Penzen, Z. Popadiouk was confined in a cell occupied by persons with tuberculosis and syphilis. On the Kharkov-Sverdlovsk-Perm line, as well as in the Sverdlovsk prison itself, Antoniuk saw the officers take women prisoners from the cells in order to take them into their quarters.

As a hunger-striker, M. Matoussevitch was accompanied by a doctor during his transfer from Kiev to camp No 35 in the Urals in June 1978. This doctor refused to give the slightest aid to a common law prisoner who was suffering from a serious illness. A nurse was supposed to be on the journey, but the train left without her. The sick man in question was covered with running sores. The other prisoners, and Matoussevitch, of course, tore up their shirts in order to make bandages.

Such are, briefly, the conditions of the "transits."

9181

CSO: 3100

NATIONAL

SOVIET ISLAM ON THE LONG MARCH

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 23/24 Sep 79 p 6

[Article by "H. K."]

[Text] Dushanbe, September — In the reception hall of Hotel Tadzhikistan in Dushanbe—a hotel built by Russians and fitted out by Finns—His Holiness, Mufti Ziyautdin Khan Bin Ishan Babakhan, is seated with his white turban and caftan while the heat is oppressive. As chairman of the Muslim Directorate for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, he is the host of the symposium which has brought together authorities on the Scriptures from all over the world to make preparations for next year's celebration of the beginning of the 15th century according to Islamic chronology. The mufti said there are about 40 million Muslims in the Soviet Union, but the exact number is difficult to ascertain. When the question is raised as to the significance of the Islamic renaissance in nearby Iran for the Soviet followers of the Koran, the Muslim leader rises abruptly and with an affable smile asks us to take our seats at the table. The conversation has come to an end, although raising this question was neither new nor unexpected.

Worthy Successors to Famous Predecessors

Yesterday, Babakhan opened the symposium with a speech glittering with significant formulations that oscillated between the customary declaration of loyalty to the atheist state authority and incantations of the great Muslim communion. A little earlier, the buses, piloted to the conference hall by the local police with blue lights blinking and sirens screaming, racing along with complete disregard for all traffic regulations, had unloaded a colorful crowd of dignitaries with Caucasian fur caps, Turkish fezes, Turkmenian shaggy bonnets and artistically wound turbans. The Muslims of the Soviet East are an inalienable part of the Muslim "Umma," the mufti called out to the delegates. Today the words of the prophet have been fulfilled: "In our land the system has changed, the social relations have changed, a new type of state and a new socialist order have appeared, but the Islamic religion continues to exist and to prosper, moreover, is even increasing in prestige." And all this only, in the words of the mufti,

because of faithfulness to the Koran. In the communique at the end of the conference, which was the subject of some dispute, it was again stated that the Soviet Muslims are the worthy successors of their famous predecessors.

However, the history of sovietization in Central Asia did not proceed in as idyllic a manner as the mufti wanted his audience believe when he addressed them in his festive mood and with tactical caution. The establishment of Soviet rule was indeed the beginning of a new era but the new era did not immediately provide the followers of Mohammed with the fulfillment of all their wishes as the present clerical hierarchy wants to demonstrate today in view of the political requirements. The tsars of the 19th century were the ones who, having recovered their strength after Napoleon's invasion, advanced to the west and in Asia also slowly toward the south until they reached the borders of Afghanistan before the turn of the century, borders which are still valid today. Even though the emirates of Chiva and Bukhara were formally annexed only after being recaptured by the Soviets, the outline of the imperium had already been prescribed by the tsars. To begin with, the Soviet colonial masters were faced with a country which had been devastated by massacres and famines, isolated for centuries and left in a backward state, a country which the tsars too had been blocking off from the outside world.

Shortly after the October Revolution and the well-known declaration by Lenin and Stalin in November 1917, which assured "all nations of Russia" the right to secede, there followed a manifesto addressed to the Muslims: "To all Muslims of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and in the Crimea, Kirgiz and Sartes of Turkestan, Turkish people and Tatars of Trans-Caucasia, to all those whose mosques and prayer houses had been destroyed and whose religion was trampled underfoot by Russian tsars and tyrants! From now on your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions are declared free and inviolate. Construct your national life in freedom and without restrictions. This is your right." The manifesto was a tactical move in the troubled times which lasted till 1924. It was later "supplemented" by Stalin to the effect that the nationality policy may be national in its outer forms but must be proletarian in its internal substance. The consequences became very obvious: up to 1942 over 90 percent of all the 26,000 mosques which existed originally were closed or destroyed. Pilgrimages to Mecca were prohibited and madrasahs were dissolved. Since then their numbers have again increased—interrupted by the antireligious campaign of Khrushchev which was directed also against Islam.

Difficulties in Assessing the Present Situation

An assessment of the present situation meets with difficulties at several levels. There are no faultless statistical data. Even the actual number of more or less faithful believers, who themselves profess to be Muslims, varies between the "purposively pessimistic" official Soviet information and Western estimates which speak of a maximum of 50 million. Be that

as it may, the Soviet Union must be classed as one of the largest "Islamic" states of the world. Even the figures and assessments which are supported by the Islamic hierarchy in the USSR itself must not be taken at their face values. A cautious attitude dictated by painful experiences in the past and the policy of the last few years to strive for a calculated embrace of Soviet ideology to enhance the vitality of Islam draw a thin veil over the realities of the situation. Despite the opening up of certain well-known cities in Central Asia as tourist attractions, there are still travel restrictions in force which bar an unimpeded overview of conditions in these localities.

Few Pilgrimages to Mecca

The majority of Mohammedans in the Soviet Union are orthodox Muslims, Sunnites. Besides these there is also a strong group of Shiites, especially in Azerbaijan, and several other sects. As late as the last century, travelers noted that orthodox pilgrims from Bukhara always travelled to Mecca via Istanbul or India instead of choosing the direct route through Shiite Persia. Today it is the foreign exchange available in one's travel chest and the fact that Saudi Arabia has no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, that determine the route and the decision whether the trip to Mecca can be undertaken at all. According to the official Soviet version, there are no other obstacles. There are thus only about 30 Muslims from the USSR who still visit the holy places in Mecca every year—a remarkably small number in view of the millions of believers. According to the preliminary figures of this year's January census, total population increased since 1970 in Turkmenia by 28 percent, in Uzbekistan by 30 percent and in Tadjikistan by 31 percent, the highest growth rates in the whole Union. Evaluation of special questionnaires, according to Soviet statements, revealed that between 15 to 40 percent of all adult men visit the mosques every Friday. Since Islam is much deeper rooted in these regions and the attendance at services in the mosques does not constitute a conclusive criterion for membership in the religious group, the real percentage of Mohammedans in the total population of the Central Asian republics is undoubtedly much higher.

The Soviet Muslims have in the past always emphasized the common elements in Islam and are trying to play down any divisive elements. The common elements are reflected in the organizational setup: the four muftiates of Ufa, Tashkent, Buynaksk and Baku are responsible for all religious activities and their jurisdictions do not conform with the Soviet administrative divisions. According to Mufti Babakhan's statement, there are today about 200 large mosques and over 1,000 small ones, and all requests by Muslim leaders to open new houses of prayer have been fulfilled by the state. Only 1,200 is a small figure even for 15 million believers.

Religious "Backwardness" as Opposed to Communist "Progressiveness"

In the two seminaries, the Mir-Arab Madrasah in Bukhara and the Islamic Institute in Tashkent, which was opened in 1971 and reorganized in January 1979, about 50 students graduate every year, some to continue their studies in Arab countries. The Koran was published in several editions after the war and a small number of books were also published, and are still being published, under the auspices of the Muslim Board. An Islamic lunar calendar is being published every year, also a monthly magazine, "Muslims of the Soviet East," in various languages, but surprisingly, and contrary to usual practice, without an indication of the numbers of copies printed. The attitude of the Soviet state toward Islam is fundamentally the same as its attitude toward the other great religions. Ideological opposition is not being concealed and "militant atheism" determines internal propaganda in schools and youth organizations, and, with varying intensity, in the press, at public events and at exhibitions. On these occasions, the familiar picture is being painted of religion as a withering, out-of-date, feudal mentality, used to befuddle the people, a mentality that has lost all attraction, particularly among the youths.

In contrast, the communist euphoric belief in progress pushes ahead toward realization. An attitude of presumptuousness in the face of anything irrational, an attitude which in the meantime has become somewhat dusty and obsolete in the West, is still in full bloom in internal Soviet ideology. The "liberated" woman is acclaimed who has discarded the veil to take an active part in the construction of socialism. In the local PRAVDA a Tadjik girl with the smile of a toothpaste ad avers her feelings of happiness at the thought of now being able to participate in the construction of a social order which points toward the future. Foreign visitors, and particularly delegates from Arab countries, are always shown how mosques and churches are being renovated. There is freedom of religion, as is always being emphasized, not only on paper but also in practice. However, the director of the silk combine in Dushenbe is evasive when asked whether worktime norms allow sufficient time for prayers and rites prescribed by the Koran. The problem, he says, is not acute, only a few old people attend prayers, hardly any young people. He did not give the obvious reply, namely that every employer in an industrial country must find it difficult to accommodate wishes of this nature.

Obstinate Customs

The fact that religious customs will obstinately persist in a climate of atheism is nothing new and is not denied anymore by official quarters. Circumcision of boys, celebration of Ramadan, and religious weddings, which take place after the civil ceremony, are widely practiced. Burial in a Muslim cemetery is much desired and therefore frequently carried out. Polygamy and bride purchases are violations of the law and are criticized sporadically in the local press which seems to indicate that much

cases still occur. Moscow sees no dangers threatening from these "innocent" manifestations of a deeply rooted and traditionally practiced attitude. However, in the opinion of the director of the Tashkent Institute at the Tashkent meeting, Islam does not show similarity with other religions and philosophies which are held up as truth in one era and in another era are attacked and distorted. Or, there was the mufti quoting the words of the prophet, that all Muslims are comparable to one body. "If a part is suffering from an illness, the pain is felt throughout the entire body." Significant phrases for anyone who believes to be detecting a spiritual uprising in the rest of the Muslim world.

The weak signs of a growing self-confidence are always being relativized by verbose affirmations of loyalty to the Soviet state and its foreign policy. The infrastructure of Soviet power in the Muslim area is firmly established. Every non-Russian leading functionary has a Russian colleague at his side. There are no indications of anti-Soviet nationalist stirrings which draw ideological or organizational impetus from Islam, apart from reports in the Soviet press which from time to time castigates the "fanaticism" of certain fundamentalist sects in the northern Caucasus. These indications of displeasure cannot be compared with the activities of dissident groups with nationalistic overtones in the Ukraine and the Baltic provinces. Direct traffic across the borders is very much restricted and the number of students studying in Cairo or Damascus is very small. In this respect, as also toward other religions, the Kremlin pursues a policy of a flexible "coexistence," which allows a certain controlled latitude. However, in contrast to the Baptists, the Muslims do not try to separate themselves from the organized Soviet world. At least judging from their public declarations, their display of adaptability aims at a kind of synthesis; they emphasize the progressive, social and socialist character of Islam, send their children to the Komsomol, go to party meetings, try to modernize religion in the Soviet sense, but at the same time also try to keep alive and promote a modern Muslim identity.

Secularized Rejuvenation With an Uncertain Potential

The secularized rejuvenation, which still has to prove its power of penetration, could perhaps present problems for the Soviet leadership in the long run, stressed by the very fast growth of the Muslim population. There is also no acute problem in the foreseeable future caused by the migration, which is much discussed in the West, a problem possibly arising from a labor shortage in the Russian heartlands and the labor surplus in the east. One has learned to absorb elastically the various impulses from abroad, and connections across the long southern border to the poorer brethren in faith are rather weak. The sovietization has widened the separation in material as well as in cultural respects. The Islamic flashes of lightning in Iran appear only as very weak flashes on the Central Asian horizon. On the insistence of the Saudi Arabian delegation, sections on China and Vietnam, which presented a one-sided Moscow viewpoint, were cancelled from the text of the communiqué that was finally passed.

8453

CSO: 8020/0169

NATIONAL

SHORTCOMINGS NOTED IN LEGAL WORK WITH YOUTHS

LD211023 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 79 p 3 LD

[TASS report: "Legal Education of Children and Adolescents"]

[Text] On 14 September in the Kremlin a routine session of the Commission for Holding the International Year of the Child in the USSR was held under the chairmanship of N. A. Tikhonov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission examined the results of the World Conference "for a Peaceful and Happy Future for All Children" which ended in Moscow recently. V. V. Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women, delivered a report on this question. The commission noted the large amount of work done by Soviet public organizations and mass media which contributed to holding the conference successfully. It displayed the strengthening unity of various international organizations in the struggle for peace and the insuring of a happy, secure childhood for the rising generation.

The question of work to intensify the legal education of children and adolescents was also submitted for discussion. Those taking part heard reports from V. S. Paputin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs; V. I. Terebilov, USSR minister of justice; M. A. Prokofyev, USSR minister of education; B. N. Pastukhov, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; and V. A. Sayushev, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education.

N. A. Tikhonov who spoke at the session stressed that a high level of legal culture in all members of the socialist society is a very important factor in the harmonious development of each person and the growth of his labor and political activeness.

Work on the moral and legal education of children and adolescents is an important part of our party's ideological and political education activity. L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central

Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has pointed out that we are building "the most industrious society in human history. And the most industrious, conscientious, organized and highly aware people will live in this society. So that we are faced with work of tremendous importance. It will obviously take a considerable time, for man's mentality is remade far more slowly than the material foundations of his life.

"The party is carrying out and will continue to carry out this work on an increasingly broad front."

A definite system for the legal education of children and adolescents is taking shape in our country. Schools have the most important part to play in this system. To this end school children study the USSR Constitution and the foundations of the Soviet state and law. Talks, reports and lectures and debates on moral topics are held for them. The Komsomol performs active educational work in this direction. Patronage by workers who are Komsomol members over hard-to-educate children and the activity of Komsomol organizations in conducting basic legal education among young people merit special attention. Positive experience of legal education has been accumulated by local soviets and labor collectives and at adolescents' places of residence. The mass media pay constant attention to the formation of children's legal consciousness. Our publishing houses produce specialized literature.

The Ministry of Justice, the USSR MVD and other institutions and departments perform a large amount of daily legal education work in close collaboration with the family, schools and public organizations. From the example of many cities and republics we can see that the pooling of the efforts of state organs and public organizations leads to good results in both work on the legal education of minors and work with hard-to-educate children who sometimes escape the influence of the family and schools.

At the same time the commission noted instances attesting to serious shortcomings and omissions in this important state matter. Many students do not have the necessary minimum of legal knowledge and do not possess a clear idea of the liability for a particular law violation. Sometimes you encounter adolescents who have formed the false impression that because they are only of school age or are ignorant of the law they are not deemed responsible. There are also shortcomings in the legal education of young workers. Schools, the Komsomol, trade unions, vocational and technical colleges, press, radio and television and other institutions and organizations must struggle more resolutely against instances of indiscipline and various deviations from the norms of communist morality and socialist communal life. It is essential to step up the propaganda of Soviet laws and to raise the legal education of young people to the level of the requirements made by the CPSU Central Committee resolutions "On Further Improving Ideological and

Political Education Work" and "On Improving Work To Safeguard Law and Order and Step Up the Struggle Against Law Violations."

Those taking part in the session approved the proposals and measures aimed at further improving work on the legal education of children and adolescents.

CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

PUBLICATION OF SEVENTH VOLUME OF BREZHNEV COLLECTION

LD070909 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 79 p 2 LD

[TASS report: "Following Lenin's Course"]

[Text] The Political Literature Publishing House has published the seventh volume of works by L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, "Following Lenin's Course" (January 1978-March 1979).

The materials in the collection reflect the titanic activity of the CPSU, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, loyal and unshakable continuer of the great Lenin's cause and outstanding modern-day politician, on the further fulfillment of the historic decisions of the 25th party congress and CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The volume opens with the memoirs "Malaya Zarya," "Rebirth" and "The Virgin Lands." These works are an epic description of the heroic accomplishments of our Leninist party and the Soviet people in wartime and in peacetime.

The content of the collection reflects Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's invaluable contribution to the collective work of the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and Secretariat and to the entire multifaceted activity of the party and the Soviet state.

The works by L. I. Brezhnev in the seventh volume, like the rest of his works, are filled with profound theoretical and ideological content. They arm communists, all Soviet people and all progressive mankind with a clear understanding of the prospects and tasks of the struggle for communism and peace.

CSO: 1800

'PRAVDA' REVIEWS ANTHOLOGY OF GRISHIN SPEECHES, ARTICLES

LD301157 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 79 pp 2-3 LD

[Unattributed review of V. V. Grishin collected speeches and articles: "Under The CPSU's Leadership--To New Achievements"]

[Text] At all stages of our glorious history the successes of the nationwide struggle for socialism and communism have been insured and continue to be insured by the wise leadership of the communist party, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its ability to note promptly and correctly resolve urgent problems, its inextricable link with the masses, and its tremendous organizational and ideological-political work.

The party consistently and tirelessly generalizes the innovatory historical experience of building the new society and of the struggle for peace and social progress. This is borne out by the CPSU documents, the decisions of its congresses and central committee plenums, the works and speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other party and state leaders. Through the efforts of the Leninist Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo a businesslike, creative atmosphere has been created in the country over the past 15 years--since the CPSU Central Committee October (1964) plenum--and is constantly being consolidated. Important elements of the party's fruitful activity are reflected in the "Collected Speeches and Articles" of V. V. Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, covering the period from 1952 through to the present.¹

1.

The building of a communist society in the USSR is a process of truly world-historic content and significance that takes place on many levels. It is closely linked with the operation of many factors and in turn, as the 62

¹ (V. V. Grishin. IZBRANNYYE RECHI I STATI, Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1979, 364 pages).

years of post-October experience show, exerts tremendous influence on world development. The book pays great attention to an analysis of the international situation, gives broad coverage to the tireless activity of the CPSU Central Committee, Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally in creatively developing the principled and constructive Leninist foreign policy line and consistently implementing it.

Proceeding from a scientific Marxist-Leninist assessment of the content of the present era, our party attaches paramount significance to questions of merging all streams of the world revolutionary process into a single line of struggle against the oppression of the monopolies, imperialism, aggression and reaction and for lasting, just, democratic peace, the peoples' freedom and all-round social progress. V. V. Grishin's speeches and articles show the growing--and, against the background of the intensifying crisis of capitalism, particularly marked--might of the main motive forces of the upward development of mankind--the community of the fraternal socialist states, world communist and workers movement, and the peoples' national liberation struggle--and substantiate the need for the close unity of all revolutionary and progressive forces of the planet for resolving the main problem of the present day--the defense of peace, the prevention of a thermonuclear catastrophe, and the ending of the arms race. The Soviet Union, the book's author notes, is consistently pursuing Lenin's policy of peace and social progress and the line toward cooperation among states with different social systems on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

Efforts in attaining these goals will be all the more successful, the more cohesive the manner in which all those seeking them start to act. Special responsibility here is placed on the socialist countries, on the world communist and workers movement--the leading forces of the present day. The book's author notes that the consolidation of the unity and cohesiveness of the vanguard of man's liberation struggle is "the main, most decisive condition for successfully resisting imperialism's counterattacks and launching a further offensive by all revolutionary forces" (p 130). Living, specific cooperation, as the book shows, is the best way of strengthening this cohesiveness. Moscow's permanent ties with the capitalist of the fraternal socialist countries set an example of such cooperation.

The ideas of proletarian internationalism and of the unity of all progressive, peace-loving forces may be called the pivotal theme in the author's coverage of international problems. The book pays considerable attention in this connection to the exposure of imperialism's unceasing attempts to undermine the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist movement, to discredit the social and state system of the socialist countries, vilify Marxist-Leninist ideology, and present in a distorted, falsified form the historical experience of the Soviet people and the policy of Lenin's party.

The truly humane and just foreign policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet state has won recognition and prestige on all continents of the planet; graphic new confirmation of this can be found in the worldwide responses to the Soviet Union's proposals formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the celebration of the GDR's 30th anniversary. It enjoys the unanimous support of

all Soviet people and has a firm basis in the successes of communist building in the USSR. [LD301159] The CPSU's foreign and domestic policies are inextricably linked and represent an organic entity. The book's author, who at the time headed the Soviet Trade Union Movement, said 18 years ago with legitimate pride that "from the first days of the Great October Socialist Revolution our country's working people have been honorably fulfilling their internationalist duty to the working class of the whole world. They view the building of a new society in the USSR as their main internationalist duty to the international working class and the world liberation movement" (p 59). We are engaged in great creative work and therefore there is nothing more important for us in international affairs than insuring favorable peaceful conditions for communist building and the preservation of peace on earth.

2.

The building of a new society and the communist transformation of the world constitute the living creativity of the masses who are continuing the cause of Great October under the CPSU's leadership. The greatest advantage of socialism over all preceding societies, the author writes, consists in the fact that it creates conditions for the all-round activity of the people's masses as the creators of history, while this activity itself acquires a conscious, purposeful nature. The successes and difficulties of the first builders of the new society, the imposing tasks of the development of the economy and culture, the improvement of socialist social relations and of the Soviet way of life and the further upsurge of the people's welfare and the formation of the new man are revealed clearly, in a profoundly scientific manner, on the basis of an enormous amount of factual material. On the basis of the CPSU's creative elaboration of teaching on socialism and communism, the author points out that the main task of the party and working people of our country is to implement fully the tremendous opportunities of developed socialism.

The book raises broadly those key problems of the present stage--the problems of developing the socialist economy--a decisive sphere of society's life. During the years of Soviet power and especially in recent decades, a gigantic economic potential has been created. There has been an unprecedented boost to science, and the working people's cultural and technical standard has improved immeasurably. Life imperiously demands that the best and most effective use possible be made of all this wealth, that the historical advantages of developed socialism be revealed more fully and put into operation. The economic strategy elaborated by the party, constantly enriched by creative thought, and by the generalization of the experience of communist building, outlines the main path toward resolving these tasks: improving the efficiency and quality of work on the basis of the improvement of planning and management, the improvement of the economic mechanism, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the utilization of internal reserves, and the boosting of the masses' labor activeness.

The book shows that under the conditions of Moscow--a center of advanced industry, science and culture--the most promising avenues of the development of a mature socialist economy stand out particularly prominently. The need to intensify production--as a result of the fact that extensive sources for production growth are exhausted--can be seen particularly clearly here. The all-round rationalization of methods of managing the economy and organizing labor, strict attention to the optimum utilization of fixed productive capital, physical resources and manpower, the modernization of production on the basis of the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology and to qualitative indicators--that is the content of the Moscow party organization's many years of work in this direction.

Comrade Grishin's reports and speeches at Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenums and at meetings of the capital's party and economic aktiv and his speeches and articles of various years show graphically how consistently and persistently the Moscow labor collectives and workers, engineers and scientists are resolving the task of historic importance set by the party--combining organically the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system and developing more widely our own forms of uniting science and production--forms inherent in socialism. The capital's party organization is helping by every means to focus the efforts of the scientific research institutes and laboratories on the key salients of scientific and technical progress and to strengthen mutual ties between science and production.

The working people's initiative and their creative attitude to labor are a special source of social progress--a source inherent only in socialism. This is expressed most deeply and fully in nationwide socialist competition. The book describes the numerous undertakings and initiatives of the capital's leading workers and best labor collectives of industry, transport and other national economic sectors, generalizes the experience of applying innovative work modes and methods of organizing labor, and elucidates the tremendous amount of work of the Moscow party organization in introducing and disseminating them.

Heading the masses' creativity, the party resolutely supports all truly valuable undertakings, displays constant concern for the improvement of the standard of organization of competition, and thus for the growth of its economic yield and the intensification of its educational impact on workers. Economic, social and ideological-educational tasks are combined in competition in the closest way, particular. In its forms characteristic of the stage of developed socialism Moscow was the birthplace of the movement for a communist attitude to labor. Counterplants and team financial autonomy originated and became widespread among the city's working people. The collectives of the capital's enterprises initiated the struggle to achieve an exemplary standard of economy, technology and labor organization.

[LD301201] This work assumed unprecedented scope after the 24th Party Congress advanced a task of enormous importance--turning Moscow into a model communist city--a task whose significance was stressed with new force by

the 25th CPSU Congress. V. V. Grishin's speeches and articles reveal the main avenues for the purposeful activity of Moscow's party organizations and labor collectives which have embarked on the solution of this task with persistence and enthusiasm and cover the results of what has already been done and outline new frontiers. "Work in turning Moscow into an exemplary communist city," the book's author notes, "must be raised to a higher level. It must be developed in all collectives and exemplary work by all plants and factories and also sectors like transport, municipal services, health, trade, the services sphere, culture and education must be insured. Blocks and their entire rayons must be turned into exemplary ones" (p 327).

That is the substantial innovatory contribution which the Muscovites, under the leadership of the capital's party organization and of the Soviet, trade union and komsomol organizations, are making to the nationwide cause of communist building and to the improvement of the socialist way of life. That is how the attention of our society toward man and the conditions of his labor and leisure is manifested. That is how unprecedented preconditions are created for the formation of a comprehensively developed individual with an integral scientific world outlook and with great faith in the future and in the ideals of communism.

3.

All our successes in the struggle for socialism and communism are inextricably linked with the CPSU's activity and are backed up by the close unity of the party and people. The party's leading and guiding role and the consolidation of its authority and influence among the masses, the enhancement of the combat capability of all party organizations and of the communists' activeness and vigor, and the constant improvement of organizational and ideological-political work are the "permeating" theme of the anthology.

Over 75 years, the CPU, founded by the great Lenin, heading the struggle of the working class and all working people of our country, has achieved results which are not and could not be equalled by a single political organization in the world. They not only transformed our country but radically altered the course of world history. "Our party's activity," V. V. Grishin writes, "has been marked by epoch-making achievements like the victory of the Great October Revolution, the building of socialism in the USSR by our own efforts under the conditions of total capitalist encirclement, the routing of fascism and the formation of the world socialist system, the creation of the developed socialist society" (p 631). Time is setting the party and people even broader and more complex tasks and this demands the constant development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the increasingly profound comprehension of the historical experience accumulated and of new problems, and the increasingly high standard of the party's work among the masses.

The capital's party organization, which numbers over 1 million communists united in 32 rayon, 96,600 primary and more than 25,000 shop organizations, and also 39,400 party groups is a tremendous creative, constructive force.

Membership of the capital's renowned party organization imposes special responsibility on every Moscovite communist. This awareness, this feeling, imbues the speeches and articles on questions of improving the party organizations' organizational and ideological-political work and on improving the communist education of the working people, including, in particular, the younger generation, on the basis of the comprehensive approach advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress. Questions of the application of the comprehensive approach in the practice of ideological work are comprehensively and profoundly covered in the report to the all-union scientific practice conference on this subject and in other speeches and articles.

It is important that the implementation of the comprehensive approach is viewed in inextricable connection with the solution of the diverse tasks of the practice of communist building and the improvement of all aspects of the socialist way of life. "The city's party organizations and ideological institutions," the author notes, "are paying much attention to the improvement of the educational process and the comprehensive solution of problems of education, linking propaganda and mass political work with the implementation of economic, social and political tasks facing the communists and all working people of Moscow" (p 589). The book shows how the capital's party organizations are constantly stepping up their influence on the masses and strengthening their link with the masses. They insure the further upsurge of Soviet people's labor and sociopolitical activeness in the process of resolving practical tasks of economic and cultural building, the development of socialist democracy, the consolidation of Soviet law and order and the implacable struggle against antisocial phenomena, vestiges of the past, bureaucracy, manifestations of narrow departmentalism and localistic tendencies, and other shortcomings. The organization of the mass, all-embracing system of study of Marxism-Leninism and the explanation of the CPSU's theory and policy has become a considerable achievement in the ideological-educational activity of Moscow's communists.

Tireless work in enhancing the communists' vanguard role, the militancy of the party organizations and their influence are the focus of the entire party's attention. The Moscow city party organization, as the content of V. V. Grishin's book attests, is making tremendous efforts always to be on the front lines of the struggle for the increasingly full expression of the working people's vital interests for the implementation of the CPSU's policy goals and for the implementation of communism's ideals.

CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

UKRAINIAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECREE ON PREPARATIONS FOR OLYMPICS

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 18 Sep 79 p 1

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has adopted a decree "On the results of Ukrainian SSR athletes' participation in the VII Annual USSR Peoples Summer Spartakiada and immediate measures to prepare for the XXII Olympic Games."

The decree notes that preparation for and conduct of the VII USSR Peoples Summer Spartakiada promoted further elevation of the role of physical culture in the communist upbringing of republican workers, the development of a mass physical culture movement, and consolidation of the material base for athletics. In the time following the VII USSR Peoples Spartakiada, physical culture pursuits and athletics attracted additionally more than 4 million people, trained 18 million GTO ("Ready for Labor and Defense") badge winners, approximately 15 million athlete-sanctioned players, 806 USSR Master Athletes, International Class, 6,470 USSR Master Athletes, 13 new stadia were built, 1,480 athletic halls, 29 swimming pools, and many other athletic facilities were constructed. In the final competition of the USSR Peoples VII Annual Spartakiada, the republican combined team collective won second place. Most significant contributions to this achievement were made by athletic organizations from the city of Kiev, Khar'kov and Dnepropetrovsk oblasts, athletic societies "Dinamo" and "Spartak" and the athletic club from the Kiev Military District.

Additionally, Spartakiada has again demonstrated that there exist deficiencies in the organization of mass physical culture, in the development of many types of athletics and in the training of high class athletes in the republic. At a number of enterprises and construction projects, in many organizations and institutions physical culture collectives have not been formed, and many of those in existence are organizationally weak. Negligence in the physical training and education of student youth is being eliminated very slowly. A segment of child-youth athletic schools is operating without the requisite efficiency, athletic residency

schools, inter-VUZ (institutions of higher learning) centers, schools for advanced athletic skills, and athletic facilities are not demonstrating the proper level of performance. The greatest lags are being observed in volleyball, women's basketball, a number of field and track disciplines, bicycling events held on tracks, rifle and target firing, boxing, sailing, diving, figure ice-skating, and skiing.

Physical culture organizations of a number of oblasts, particularly the Volynsk, Kirovograd, Rovenskiy, Ternopol', and Chernigov oblasts, over a period of years have not contributed to the training of Olympic athletes, of candidates for the national teams.

The decree points out errors permitted in ideological-educational work among athletes and trainers. They have yet to inculcate such qualities as self-assurance, the ability to overcome difficulties, the will to win, and a sense of high responsibility for the results of athletic competition.

The chief reason underlying the shortcomings noted is that the Ukrainian SSR Athletic Committee is weak in effecting its control over the development of the physical culture movement in the republic, and does not always relate to the work of athletic organizations and trainers in an exacting manner.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has obliged the Ukrainian SSR Athletic Committee, the Ukrainian Trade Union Council, the Ukrainian Young Communist League Central Committee, the Ukrainian Ministry of Higher Educational Institutions, the Ukrainian Ministry of Education, the Ukrainian State Vocational Education System, the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, oblast committees, the Kiev city party committee, the oblast executive committees, the Kiev city executive committee to deeply analyze the results of republican athletes in the VII USSR Peoples Summer Spartakiada, to develop and implement specific plans for the further development of all types of athletics, particularly the lagging fields. The best experience in the organization of physical culture-athletic work in the republic and the country is to be utilized actively everywhere. It envisages the opening of new and improvement of operations for existing olympic training centers, advanced athletic skills schools, inter-VUZ centers, child-youth athletic schools, athletic residency schools, and specialized classes for athletic fields in general education schools. Recommendations are made to employ additional measures to improve the level of olympic training, increase the representation of army athletic clubs on USSR national combined teams.

Control must be strengthened over the training of athletes from the Ukraine--of candidates for the Olympics. The necessary conditions are to be created for appropriate organization of

the training process and regimen. Comprehensive aid is to be rendered the USSR olympic teams for different types of athletic competition when conducting their centralized training.

Oblast committees and the Kiev city party committee, oblast executive committees and the Kiev city executive committee, the Ukrainian Trade Union Council, Athletic Committee, Young Communist League Central Committee, ministries and departments are vested with providing for the creation and consolidation at all enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, organizations and institutions of physical culture collectives, equipment of the most basic athletic facilities by place of work and residence for the workers, to increase the number of competitions in the labor collectives, cities, rural areas and regions. Socialist competition of physical culture organizations is to be activated to introduce physical culture and athletics into the life of the populace. In cooperation with the Ukrainian DOSAAF Central Committee, practical programs are to be developed to more widely attract the working population, primarily youth to athletic fields with military applications.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs must expand training in the "Dinamo" athletic society of athletes having advanced qualifications, to open in the cities of Kiev, Khar'kov, L'vov, and Odessa olympic training complex centers, to include soccer with the Kiev team, "Dinamo".

The Ukrainian Ministry of Higher Educational Institutions is directed to organize over the next years courses in physical culture in all VUZ courses, to strengthen the role of the department of physical education in the training of advanced class athletes, and to consolidate the material base for student athletics.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Education and State Vocational Education System are recommended to significantly improve the physical education of children and student youth, and in conjunction with local soviet and economic organs to provide equipment in all general education schools, vocational education facilities, child-youth athletic schools, pre-school children institutions, and athletic residency schools of the necessary athletic facilities.

The Ukrainian Young Communist League Central Committee must increase the role and activity of Komsomol and Pioneer organizations in the development of mass physical culture, the introduction of GTO complexes among youth. It is to facilitate in every way possible the organization of juvenile athletic clubs for places of residence, to attract Pioneers and school-agers to participate in athletic competitions such as "Starts of Promise", "Leather Ball", "Golden Puck" and the like.

It is recommended that the Ukrainian Athletic Committee in cooperation with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of Health develop and implement a promising plan for scientific-methodological and medical provision for training of advanced class athletes, and to involve the appropriate scientific-research institutes, medical institutions, and above all the Kiev and L'vov institutes for physical culture and VUZ physical education departments.

The attention of the Ukrainian Athletic Committee, Trade Union Council, Ministry of Higher Education, Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs is directed toward the deficiencies in the selection, placement, and education of physical culture worker personnel. The task is levied to increase requirements upon managers of athletic committees and societies, trainers, and physical education instructors regarding the results of their work.

The Ukrainian Athletic Committee, Ministry of Higher Education, and Ministry of Education must improve the training of physical culture and athletic specialist personnel, particularly of trainers. Beginning with 1980, the contingent of the faculty (department) for the retraining of physical culture personnel at the Kiev Institute of Physical Culture is to be expanded.

Oblast committees, city committees, rayon committees, the Ukrainian Trade Union Council, the Young Communist League Central Committee, and the Athletic Committee of the Ukraine, guided by the CPSU Central Committee Decree, "Regarding the future improvement of ideological, politico-educational work", are obliged to increase the level of education for athletes and trainers in the spirit of dedication to the socialist Homeland, intransigence to bourgeois ideology and morality, and to inculcate a sense of pride for the right to defend the honor of Soviet athletics.

The Ukrainian Council of Ministers and appropriate ministries and departments are reviewing the question of future consolidation of the material-technical base for athletics.

The republican organizational committee "Olympics-80", the Kiev city party committee and executive committee, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are tasked with employing immediate programs for the timely conclusion of remodeling and repairing the primary olympic facilities in the city of Kiev. The party oblast committees and oblast executive committees are directed to increase control over improvement of roads and common-use areas along the route of the Olympic Flame and Tourist Routes.

REGIONAL

SHEVARDNADZE INTERVIEWED ON THE ROLE OF LITERATURE

Moscow LITERATURNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 7, 1979 pp 2-9

[Interview with CPSU CC Politburo Candidate Member and Georgian CP CC First Secretary E. Shevardnadze by LITERATURNOYE OBOZRENIYE correspondents. "High Purpose"]

[Text] Question: Soviet readers, including readers of this journal, are aware of the profound social changes that have taken place in the life of the republic on the basis of the implementation of the CPSU CC Decree concerning the work of the Tbilisi Gorkom. What role in this process, in the creation of a new moral atmosphere, in the establishment of the Leninist style of work, has been played by the literature and art of Georgia, the republic's creative intelligentsia?

[Answer] In its three decrees of historical importance to our republic—concerning the Tbilisi Gorkom, the further development of the republic's economy, and the work of the Georgian party organization with respect to carrying out the CPSU CC's decisions regarding the Tbilisi Gorkom—the CPSU CC set forth a scientifically substantiated program of actions to further improve party management of the republic's economy and culture. In this program, a special place is accorded the development of material and spiritual culture, especially literature and art.

The profound social-economic and social-political measures implemented in the republic in recent years have led to a new upsurge of the economy and culture, a healthier moral-psychological climate, strengthened communist morality, and improvement of the process of indoctrinating the new man—the builder of communism.

We proceeded on the basis that in the struggle to implement the party's decisions the main thing is persuasion, influencing the consciousness, minds, and hearts of the people, rather than administrative measures.

Life has shown that it is more difficult to restructure the people's consciousness than to build new structures, cities, and settlements.

Lenin emphasized that it is easier to win a war than to eradicate the consequences of the war from the people's consciousness.

Achieving a turnaround in the people's consciousness is a complex process. Success depends on our ability to work in an integrated way, to make use of the capabilities of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and other organizations, on the one hand, and figures in literature, the arts and culture, their creativity, the power of all our spirituality, transforming man's world, on the other.

We ascribe special importance to the living written word, the writer's thought. The writer's authority is a special asset in any civilization, especially for our socialist civilization.

The republic's literature and art, actively involved in life, enriched with new themes, characters, images, and ideas, have had an increasingly effective influence on people's minds and hearts, on the practice of the building of communism.

In contemporary Georgian literature there have appeared new trends reflecting the changes that have taken place in recent years in the life of the republic. I believe this is most successfully revealed in well-known Georgian novelist Konstantin Lordkipanidze's documentary story "What Took Place In Abasha?" Using the example of the life of the working people of one rayon, the story convincingly demonstrates the process of creating a modern moral atmosphere and strengthening the Leninist style of work.

Among the works reflecting the profound social changes in the life of the republic in recent years mention should be made of a whole series of poetry and prose works published by the Georgian Writers' Union publishing house Merani under the rubric "Writers for the Five-Year Plan." These works have come hot on the heels of events. Writers have been involved in them as chroniclers and active participants in the magnificent accomplishments of the 9th and 10th five-year plans and can look upon the world of today from the heights of tomorrow.

And mention should certainly be made of the poetic canvas created in recent years by Rustaveli Prize Winner Shota Nishnianidze, "Communists." Such works are helping us to indoctrinate the new man.

In my opinion, several factors must be delineated. First of all, quests of new, truly inexhaustible possibilities of socialist realism have become markedly stronger. Secondly, our literature and art are becoming increasingly internationalist in content while appropriately developing the national form. And I must certainly mention the Theater of Friendship and the Museum of Friendship, which have become acknowledged centers of internationalist indoctrination of the working people. Third, such Leninist principles of literature and art as national character [narodnost'], class character [klassovost'], party-mindedness, and humanism are developing and becoming stronger.

A number of other new features can be noted in today's literary process.

In recent years, much has been done in Georgia to effectively implement the party's programmatic slogan "All For the Sake of Man, all For the Good of Man." Man is truly at the focus of the party's policies. This process is worthily reflected in literature and art. The artistic concept of man has become richer on this basis, it has become more capacious and abundant. And at the same time these processes have, in its speak, altered the perspective from which the writer views man--our contemporary. The moral, intellectual, aesthetic, and other values of Soviet man are more fully revealed through the prism of politics. For the writer, this is big science and big art.

It is difficult to manage an economy, but it is even more difficult to guarantee the correct shaping of the contemporary individual, the enrichment of the spiritual world of Soviet man, especially the writer, the artist in the broad sense of this word.

Party leaders, party committees, and party organizations must influence the literary process--this is an axiom, but in order to perform this function party leaders must regularly read not only fiction, not only critical articles, but also essential literature of encyclopedic variety, they must study the rich experience of the Party of Lenin in the domain of directing the literary process.

Proceeding solely on one's own experience and relying exclusively on personal impressions is fraught with the danger of subjective evaluation. And it must be kept in mind that no new item, no report, can substitute for reading literary work. However burdened with routine cares, the party worker must always find the time to keep up with new works of literature. This is an indispensable condition for the growth of the party worker himself.

It is the duty of the leader to read not only what he likes but also what he may not care for at all.

Party workers must sense the necessity of systematically dealing with the writers' community; they must establish contacts with writers and cultural figures and know how to support the writer at difficult moments. It must be kept in mind that people differ in their character. Some people are easily wounded. At all times, therefore, even in tense situations, party workers and critics must show profound respect for the writer's toil, for the writer's person.

Subjectivism, administrative high-handedness, and prejudgment have a damaging effect on the development of talent. The soul of the writer cannot tolerate arrogance, dilettantism, or pretentiousness, especially on the part of officials.

In exercising party supervision of literature and art, we proceed on the basis that the moral indoctrination of man, his preparation for resolving

the complex problems of life, constitute one of the main tasks of fiction. Purging the spiritual world of every egotistical tendency and all petty and Philistine prejudice has always been the sacred duty of the masters of the artistic word. True masterpieces of literature and art have always been not only a source of esthetic enjoyment but also the sword and shield of man's spiritual world.

Since its very beginning, Georgian Soviet literature has justified its high purpose and found its way to the reader's heart. During that period in the life of the republic characterized by violations of the Leninist style of work, deviations from the norms of socialist communal living, and strengthened bourgeois tendencies in some spheres, the leading figures of literature and art, acutely sensing these shortcomings, came out in defense of society's high ideals. The party and the people, of course, backed them up fully in this. In the uncompromising struggle to create a healthy moral atmosphere in the republic, the strengthening of the communist consciousness of the people of our creative intelligentsia have played a vital role.

We believe, however, that so far only the pioneering writers have had their say, only the first steps have been taken. Much still lies ahead: new novels, stories, verses, poems, plays, spectacles, and films concerning the shifts that have taken place in the republic's economy and culture, in the consciousness of the people, in their moral outlook and life creed. This is one aspect of the matter.

On the other hand, the GCP CC is critically reviewing the forms and methods in our arsenal with respect to party work with the creative intelligentsia. Every time-tested technique is being utilized, and at the same time the search continues for new forms and methods.

We are living in an era of mature, developed socialism. We cannot work today as we did yesterday. The world has changed, man has changed. We must keep pace with or even ahead of life if we do not wish to lag behind. Party work and literature have in common the fact that both of them are spheres of the science of man. We are armed with the party's Program and Charter, the moral code of the builder of communism, the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 25th GCP Congress, the decisions of the party with regard to questions of literature and art. Relying on this golden storehouse of thoughts and ideas, we party organizations of the republic have the opportunity to work more actively in problems of improving the party's guidance of literature and art in the era of mature, developed socialism.

Once I attended a party meeting in the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy. During the discussion, one of the philosophers said: What has been taking place in the republic since the adoption of the decree on the Tbilisi Gorkom can be termed figuratively a "moral revolution." This is an exaggeration, of course, but it contains a grain of truth.

Turning to literary works and art that have played a special role in this nationwide effort I must certainly single out the latest novel by Mustavisi Enzio Kimeri Vadar Dombadze "The Law of Eternity," which has won the "Larkara" prize by the builders of the Nurek GES. This novel is typical as an example of literary exploration of the moral and spiritual world of contemporary man.

In answer to your first question, I should like to say that the profound changes that have taken place in Georgia's literature and art since the decree on the Tbilisi Gorkom require solid, serious, well-considered scientific study and generalization both by critics, literature and art experts, and literature and art theoreticians and historians, on the one hand, and by representatives of historical and party science, specialists in party development, philosophers, psychologists, and so on.

We need scientific recommendations on further perfecting the party's guidance of literature and art in the era of mature, developed socialism. The republic's and the country's scientific centers must have their say in this regard.

[Question] One of the biggest impressions taken away by participants in Soviet Literature Days in Georgia, which took place in autumn of last year, was the visit in Tbilisi's unique Friendship of People's Museum, so far the only one in the country, which you have mentioned. Among its displays are numerous valuable items testifying to the internationalist "sense of a single family," which unites the cultures of the Soviet peoples. What can you tell us in this connection about today's Georgian literature: How broad are its internationalist horizons, how deep is its internationalist fervor, how effectively is it involved in processes of mutual enrichment and rapprochement of the national literatures of the Soviet peoples?

[Answer] The People's Friendship Museum in Tbilisi was set up as a fundamental museum reflecting primarily the centuries-old friendship of the Russian and the Georgian peoples. Its establishment is a component part of the big integrated program celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Georgiyevsk treaty in the republic--the first historical manifesto marking the beginning of the eternal friendship and brotherhood of the Russian and Georgian peoples.

Tbilisi has long been a city of important internationalist traditions, a city in which the destinies of social and literary figures of various nationalities are interwoven. Georgia is entered as a bright page in the life and creativity of many Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani poets and writers; for some of them it has become a second homeland.

Soviet Georgia is proud that it has been sung in the works of the best Soviet writers, in the creations of the classics of literature of the Soviet

peoples and many peoples of the world. Georgia is appreciative and grateful to all peoples whose national spiritual culture has reflected friendship and brotherhood with the Georgian people, with all peoples inhabiting our republic.

The formation of the Friendship Museum has made it possible to gather together and concentrate in one place centuries of abundant material on the cultural and creative cooperation of the Georgian people and the fraternal peoples of our country.

Today, Georgian literature has close contacts with the whole of multinational Soviet literature. The works of Georgian poets and prose writers speak in all the languages of the peoples of the USSR and are published throughout the world, and among the translators of Georgian literature are the names of outstanding poets of our time.

The works of our contemporaries I. Abashidze, G. Abashidze, S. Shanshiashvili, S. Kldiashvili, M. Mrevlishvili, D. Shengelaya, G. Chikovani, N. Dumbadze, I. Noneshvili, M. Baratashvili, Kh. Berulava, O. Ioseliani, O. Chiladze, D. Charkviani, T. Chiladze, M. Potskhishvili, O. Chelidze, Ch. Amiredzhibi, N. Kilasoniya, and many others serve the great cause of bringing not only literatures but also peoples closer together.

Georgia has always kept close track of the newest and best in the literatures of the peoples of the USSR, and many poets and writers have had the opportunity to be published in the Georgian press.

The Peoples' Friendship Museum faces the task of reflecting this complex process, which is developing more each day, of mutual influence of the fraternal literatures and mutual enrichment of cultural values.

The museum is visited by party and governmental delegations and progressive personalities and writers of almost all continents of the world.

Janos Kadar, a great friend of the Soviet people, wrote the following in the Book of Honored Guests: "We are proud of the ties of friendship that have joined forever the hearts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Russian, Georgian, and Hungarian peoples, brother peoples, fighting for internationalism, socialism, democracy, freedom, happiness, and peace throughout the world."

The Peoples' Friendship Museum is involved in all the most important life events of the country; it is a kind of chronicler and participant in everyday life: of noteworthy dates, jubilees, and days of culture and literature--bright celebrations of the friendship and brotherhood of peoples.

The museum has priceless literary acquisitions. The archives of T. Tabidze, donated by his daughter Tanit, represent an exciting page in the friendship of Georgian and Russian poetry. They include the last letter of S. Yesenin to T. Tabidze, one of V. Mayakovsky's last books during his lifetime with

A dedication inscription, a collection of T. Tabidze's works published in Armenia with the help of Ye. Zharets and sent by him to the Georgian poet with a heartfelt inscription, letters from B. Pasternak, the originals of poems by N. Zabolotskiy, A. Akhmatova, K. Chukovskiy, N. Tikhonov, and others.

The museum's holdings have abundant materials on Georgian-Armenian literary and cultural ties going back centuries. Eight unknown letters of the outstanding Armenian dramaturgists G. Sundukyan, acquired and published by the museum's scientific staff, mark a bright page in the history of Georgian and Armenian cultural relations.

Recently, the museum has acquired books and photographs from the daughter of Samed Vurgun, R. Rza, M. Iberagimov, and other literary figures of fraternal Azerbaijan.

An "honorary correspondent of the museum," well-known Lithuanian poet I. Graychynas, has sent the originals of his verses dedicated to Georgia, vast materials from the fund of Lithuanian classic writer A. Venuolis-Zhukauskas, translations of Georgian literary works in Lithuanian, and so on.

Ukrainian people's poet M. Bazhan, author of the cycle "Verses About Georgia," has donated his own translation of Rustaveli's poem.

A permanent place in materials concerning the world role of Sh. Rustaveli's poem is held by the chronicle of celebrations dedicated to the poet genius. Among the documents are interesting photographs of Ya. Kupala and Ya. Kolas surrounded by Georgian writers during the days celebrating the 750th anniversary of the poem, also a very rare photograph of Dzhambul at Rustaveli's portrait singing the friendship of peoples on a dombra.

Some copies of Rustaveli's poem have an unusual history. A copy of "The Knight in the Tiger's Skin" that went out into space was donated to the museum personally by cosmonaut Yu. Glazkov. And writer, literary expert, and critic K. Bobulev sent from Frunze a Kirgiz translation of the poem which his elder brother carried with him through the fiery wastes of the Great Patriotic War.

In 1941, a book by G. Leonidze was being published in besieged Leningrad; however, the printing plant was destroyed by a bomb and only a few copies of the book survived. Then in 1947, N. S. Tikhonov sent one of the surviving copies to his friend with the following inscription: "To my dear friend G. Leonidze, the finest poet of Georgia and our times, my translation of his astonishing book, signed to press during the days of the assault on Leningrad, days when my translation was buried under the ruins of the Sovetskii Pisatel' Publishing House. And yet this translation did come out, triumphing over bombs and assaults like a testimony to true poetry."

A couple of years ago Ye. Yevtushenko found out that staff members of the Friendship Museum were setting out on an expedition to the Inguri GES construction site and to Svanetia and expressed the desire to take part in it. They welcomed him to the expedition with pleasure, knowing how important new encounters and impressions are to a poet. The creative results of his acquaintance with the people and natural environment of Svanetia were his new poems about Georgia, which have come out in a single volume recently published by the Merani Publishing House--"Heavier Than the Earth."

The museum's holdings open up broad prospects for research. Many formerly unpublished and unknown materials have been prepared and published: N. Zabolotskiy's letters to S. Chikovani, T. Tabidze's letter to A. Tolstoy, memoirs of N. Tabidze and letters from L. Andreyev to A. Sanabatashvili-Yuzhin being prepared for publication, and so on.

The Peoples' Friendship Museum is a multi-plane and multi-profile institution which combines and utilizes various forms in its work--the propagandizing of literary ties. They include permanent and temporary exhibits and memorial branch museums set up in various regions of the republic.

A branch of the museum is being opened in Makharadze, the home town of legendary army commander Konstantin Leselidze, a memorial to the hero of the 18th Army, which is joined forever with the glorious military journey of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev and the heroes of Malaya Zemlya.

A branch of the Peoples' Friendship Museum--the memorial home of internationalist poet Mirza Gelevani--has been opened in Tianeti, and has become one of the cultural centers of the rayon. Mirza Gelevani, who died heroically on Belorussian soil during the Great Patriotic War, was posthumously awarded the Lenin Komsomol Prize and the N. Ostrovskiy Prize. This N. Ostrovskiy medal is on display along with the poet's manuscripts in the museum's military exhibit.

The museum is facing even more substantial tasks. A second permanent exhibit is to be opened this year, dedicated to the revolutionary collaboration of the peoples of the USSR; a memorial museum is being created in Moscow at No 5 Bol'shaya Gruzinskaya Street, with an exposition of the historic roots of the friendship of the Georgian and Russian peoples. A memorial museum is being prepared for opening in Marneuli. In 1981, by the 60th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet rule in Georgia, work will be completed on preparations for the main exhibit, which reflects the ties linking the Georgian people with the peoples of the USSR from ancient times to our days. In all of these exhibits a prominent place will be held by materials concerning cultural and literary contacts.

At present the museum is preparing an All-Union Scientific Conference dedicated to the 150th anniversary of A. S. Pushkin's sojourn in Georgia, which will be participated in by the country's most outstanding Pushkinists.

The spirit of internationalism is in the very nature of the multinational Soviet literature; this is not only its ideological platform but its very essence. Georgian literature, which is not an exception in this regard, is in addition one of the fraternal Soviet literatures which are rich in the most ancient historic traditions of internationalism and friendly relations among peoples. Last year we celebrated the 1,500th anniversary of the first Georgian novel that has come down to us. Already in this first founding novel Ya. Tsurtaveli sounds the theme of people's friendship. The noble traditions of internationalism, which have organically infused the works of Georgian literature and art in past centuries, have flourished in an unprecedented way in our socialist era.

In speaking of the breadth of the internationalist horizons of Georgian literature and the size of its readership, it is with a feeling of special gratitude and love that we mention the services of the true friends of our culture, the great translators of the Georgian classics and contemporary literature, especially representatives of Russian literature, who have helped to make the literature of Georgia accessible to many millions of readers throughout the world. We are proud of the fact that many masters of the written word, brilliant Soviet writers, have dedicated their hearts, talents, and spiritual energy to Georgian themes, to the creative interpretation and translation of the best works of our writers in their own languages. One manifestation of our people's great love for these remarkable masters is the conferring of the republic's highest award--the State Rustaveli Prize--on Nikolay Tikhonov, Nikolay Zabolotskiy, and Mikola Bazhan.

The broad internationalist resonance and popularity of the works of contemporary Georgian literature are indicated, in particular, by certain incidents from the year 1978. That year saw the publication in German of N. Abashidze's novel "The Long Night" and Ch. Amiredzhibi's novel "Data Tutashkhia" in Sweden and Denmark; it is soon to be published in Finnish, Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Japanese, and English translations. N. Abashidze's novels and stories are to be published in German, Hungarian, Czech, Polish, Spanish, and other languages. Also to be published in various languages of the world are the prose works of K. Lordkipanidze, M. Mkhvartiani, A. Kalandadze, R. Inanishvili, O. Ioseliani, G. Pandzhikidze, A. Solakuri, T. Chiladze, D. Chiladze, and others, also poetic collections of I. Abashidze, I. Noneshvili, R. Margiani, Kh. Berulava, M. Lebanidze, M. Parskhishvili, and D. Zh. Charkvini, Georgian poetry anthologies, folklore, and so on. And all this was completed or started in just one year! And I have not even mentioned translations into Russian and the languages of the peoples of the USSR--it is even difficult to keep count of them!

And since we are on the subject of fiction and its significance in the process of mutual enrichment and bringing national cultures closer together, a few words must be said about the creation, under the Georgian Writers' Union, of a Main Editorial Board for Matters of Literary Translation and Literary Ties. I should like to emphasize specially that this form of work has proved itself, because it has made it possible to combine in a single organization all aspects of literary translation and literary relations--

Creative, organizational, scientific, educational, and publishing. Without ignoring the great importance of such organizations as the Academy of Sciences, the VUZ's, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, the translations section of the Writers' Union, the press, and so on. It must be stated that each of them basically focuses on a single direction. We can hardly demand, for example, that the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade be concerned for the training of translators or that the Academy of Sciences be responsible for the artistic level of translations, and so on. Therefore, by creating the above-mentioned new organization, which has scientific, creative, and publishing jurisdiction and can carry out goal-directed efforts to expand internationalist creative interrelations, we have resolved the task of raising the significance of literary translation, the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the national cultures.

All of the processes mentioned above characterize not only Georgian literature in our days but also Abkhazian and Ossetian literature, the outstanding representatives of which--Bagrat Shinkuba, Ivan Tarba, Nafi Dzhusopyr, Kosta Margiyev, and many others--are creating interesting works about our contemporaries.

Fruitful work is being done by Russian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, and Kurdish writers as well as writers of other Soviet peoples living in our republic. We are very glad about this and are doing everything necessary to create for them normal conditions for living and creating.

[Question] In one of your speeches in connection with Soviet Literature Days in Georgia you said that the Soviet writer has no more urgent and responsible task than that of concern for the spiritual beauty and moral enhancement of man. What accomplishments have been made by modern Georgian literature in this regard? How deeply do its ideas and images penetrate into the spiritual world of the working man of the city or the village, forming in him a high civic self-awareness, instilling such qualities of the Soviet character as a communist attitude toward labor, an active life stance, a conscious attitude toward one's social duty?

[Answer] Man's spiritual world is a complex one; to penetrate its secrets is in no way any easier than to understand the many mysterious aspects of macro-world--the whole universe. In this regard, writers have inexhaustible prospects of new searches and new discoveries. In speaking of writers' responsibility in enhancing spiritual beauty and moral indoctrination, I was not only calling for efforts in this direction but also referring to the already considerable accomplishments of Georgian literature. It is not just that writers are creating highly-artistic modern heroes taking an active life stance and manifesting a communist attitude toward labor and their duty but also the fact that every significant artistic canvas--regardless of theme--is infused with the high ideals of our society, with the spirit of humanism, a sense of class, nation, and party.

The most significant accomplishment of modern Georgian literature, however, is that their focus has come to be the spiritual world of man, man's contemporary. The tendency of revealing individual and social individuality, which is characteristic and organic to the very essence of Soviet literature, can be traced clearly.

The influence of the ideas and images of Georgian literature on the contemporary reader and his evaluation of life's events, on enhancing his conscious attitude toward social duty, has grown incomparably. And the reader's perception of the most complex events of today's artistic thinking and creativity has also unquestionably grown. You can judge for yourself: any printing of a worthwhile book finds its reader as fast as lightning, hardly before the ink can dry. And our printings are larger than ever before.

Here I should mention L. I. Brezhnev's words when he spoke in Tbilisi: "The people of the Soviet Union appreciate and love Georgian art—one of the powerful, fruitful currents in Soviet culture. Georgian music, poetry, theater, and cinema enrich the inner world of the Soviet people, filling them with goodness, with bright ideals, inspiring them to struggle against anything standing in the way of a happy and joyful life."

Works which have in recent years been awarded the Shota Rustaveli, Galaktion Tabidze, and Georgian Leninist Komsomol prizes reflect the images of our contemporaries, whose spiritual beauty and moral perfection are manifested primarily in their high civic self-awareness, their communist attitude toward labor, their conscious attitude toward social duty, and many other fine and beautiful features which so richly characterize our contemporary.

What has been accomplished, however, is not the limit. It seems to me, for example, that Georgian writers have not derived much benefit from the lessons of such a grand national project as the Inguri GES. After all, the tumults of life that have taken place there during the construction and the formation of the new collective will never be repeated. And it is not just a matter of recording for history this important episode in the life of the republic but also of penetrating into the complex processes of human relations, the shaping of character and personality, without which the creation of an artistic image is impossible. I should like to see fewer writers of the kind who stick just to what fate has given them, their biography, their life experience; I should like to see more literary artists who themselves seek out new boundaries of life, who can live for a time the life of the metallurgist, the grape farmer, the miner, the trapper, the border guard... I am convinced that when artistic ideas ripen in the process of direct contact with life they are more quickly transformed into artistic images.

We are expecting our masters of the literary word to create better works concerning the people of our days, the working men of the city and the village.

[Question] What lessons can be learned today from the experience of the republic's party organization with respect to indoctrinating the younger creative generation? How active is its role in resolving the tasks facing literature and the arts, in creating artistic values of today's Georgian culture?

[Answer] In the matter of improving the indoctrination of creative young people a vital role has been played by the CPSU CC's decree on this matter. Guided by this decree as well as the GCP CC decree "The Present State and Measures for Improving Work with Creative Young People in the Public," the creative unions and the cultural institutions have done considerable work in regard to the professional, ideological-esthetic, and moral indoctrination of creative young people. Symposia of young writers and artists, held in Bakuriani, have become traditional, also competitions for young performing musicians of the Transcaucasus held in Baku, Yerevan, and Tbilisi. Also deserving attention are such organizational-creative forms as associations of young writers under the Georgian Writers' Union, young artists and art experts under the Georgian Artists' Union, and the annual exhibits they organize. Youth shows have been performed on the stages of the state theaters and the Metekhi Theater Workshop; for printing the first publications of young authors, a supplement to the youth journal TSISKARI is published, also the literary almanac of the Tbilisi State University, MIRVELI SKHIVI. An important event in the life of creative youth is the formation of the new creative association Debyut within Gruziya-film Film Studios for young scenario writers, directors, and actors. Plans call for opening a workers' theater in the new Gldani district of Tbilisi and so on.

Another good tradition is the observance of Mayakovskiy Days in the poet's home town--the rayon center of Mayakovski and the city of Kutaisi. They are participated in by young writers. Mayakovskiy Days are observed as a bright celebration of the inseparable link between the times and the generations. Mayakovskiy Days celebrate the literature of socialist realism and display the talents of young, innovative poets who are continuing Mayakovskiy's traditions in literature.

Contacts between creative young people and the working men of industry and agriculture are becoming stronger. Brilliant works have been created as a result of long work assignments of young writers and artists on the BAM [Baykal-Amur Railroad], the Inguri GES, and other shockwork projects of the country. The theme of labor and creation, the image of our contemporaries, are becoming ever more clearly embodied in the creations of young people.

The young creative generation is the future of our literature and our arts, and we fervently believe in this wonderful future.

[Question] What do you as a reader most cherish in the works of contemporary Georgian writers? Could you name any books that you especially value? What new artistic searches and discoveries do you wish for the republic's writers?

[Answer] To answer unequivocally the question as to what I most cherish in the works of modern Georgian writers is very difficult and essentially impossible. Because there are many such "cherished" specialties which are, in addition, interrelated and so to speak merged in an inseparable whole.

First of all I should like to mention the variety which at the present time is not only a characteristic but also a distinguishing feature of the works of Georgian writers. I am referring to thematic, generic, and also--especially important--stylistic variety in the broadest sense of that word. All of this seems to me to be the hallmark of the inner fullness and maturity of our literature.

At one time there was current in Soviet literary criticism a somewhat one-sided idea about the originality of Georgian literature. Special attention, as a rule, was focused on its colorfulness, its emotionality, its romanticism, and so on. All of these characteristics, of course, are remarkable and valuable. But on the larger literary scale, of course, they are inadequate.

It is the artistic and ideological maturity of today's Georgian literature which defines the evident fact that the writers who are creating this literature today are penetrating ever more deeply into the most complex social, moral, and philosophical problems of our time.

It is no accident that in recent times Russian critics have begun to speak, in particular, of the new "intellectual Georgian prose" and commented on the broad world-view characteristic of the best examples of today's Georgian literature.

We especially cherish the fact that the vital issues of our time, the concrete moral alternatives which life places before our contemporaries every day, every hour, and every minute, are being resolved, in the best works of Georgian Soviet literature, on the broad, epochal plane, in light of the fundamental concepts and categories of Soviet humanism, internationalism, from the standpoint of class, nation, and party.

These features define the face of Georgian literature in the 1970's, everything which is genuinely significant and interesting in this literature.

We are in favor of different styles, of the greatest possible variety in the artistic approach to the interpretation of life in literature. With one condition: that the author and the work confirm progressive ideals, that their goal be to make a reality of the humanistic strivings of contemporary man, that they help us to build our life, society, and human relations on new, communist principles.

You have asked me to name a few books that I especially cherish. Among contemporary Georgian books, of course, there are a few that have especially

attracted me. In some I hear the echoes of certain problems that have touched me for various reasons; in others I see an answer to our moods of today and understand that they can be our mentors and helpers in the most complex and even innermost affairs not only today but throughout life... But to name them specifically, it seems to me, would not be appropriate at this time. Here is why. After all, there are other works that are no less good and interesting which, for one reason or another, probably very subjective reasons, have not impressed me personally so strongly. But this does not mean that they do not deserve the praise of others.

[Question] And now the final but perhaps major question, because it derives from the specific nature of LITERATURNAYA OBOZRENIYE as a journal of criticism and bibliography, which was created as you know on the basis of the CPSU CC decree "Literary and Artistic Criticism." What are the main trends in the work of the republic's party organization with respect to implementing this decree? Can you comment on the accomplishments of Georgian criticism in recent years? And what tasks does it face that have yet to be resolved?

[Answer] Positive advances have also been made in this regard. A special almanac is published KRITIKA, which in our republic performs the same functions as LITERATURNAYA OBOZRENIYE on a nationwide scale. The literary journals and the press as a whole are focusing more attention on the development of critical thinking, which has become more effective, principled, and professional. Many books are being published to deal with urgent problems of contemporary literature and art.

Such events as the All-Union Conference of Critics and Literary Experts "The Image of the Communist in Soviet Literature" (Tbilisi, 1974), the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference "The Implementation of the Leninist Nationality Policy and Current Problems of Internationalist Indoctrination in Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" (Tbilisi, 1976), and a round table on the theme "The Internationalism of Multinational Soviet Literature in the Era of Developed Socialism," which was held as part of the Soviet Literature Days in Georgia (Tbilisi, 1978), and others have had a fruitful influence on the development of literary and artistic criticism.

Despite a certain rise in the ideological-professional level and the activation of literary and artistic criticism, however, there are still many unresolved problems and serious shortcomings.

In their activities, many critics confine themselves to the role of merely recording and commenting on the works, forgetting the critic's primary role of organizing and directing forces in the artistic process.

It seems to me that the time has come to speak seriously about the current state of literary and artistic criticism in the republic, to point out the shortcomings and support the healthy tendencies which have unquestionably developed in this vital sphere of literature and art. Our comrades have

studied the experience accumulated since the CPSU CC decree "Literary and Artistic Criticism," analyzed all of the material, and will soon, I think, hold a discussion concerning progress in implementing this decree.

In conclusion I should like to repeat L. I. Brezhnev's words: "We all know that the birth of creations which, like Shota Rustaveli's 'The Knight in the Tiger's Skin', will live for centuries, is a rare occurrence. Nevertheless, I should like to see you come up with more works of such depth and artistic power, which will touch to the quick and inspire people beyond ourselves. It is essential that our descendants be able to say several decades hence: We have received from the Soviet people of the 1970's a priceless inheritance worthy of the great times in which they lived and the great deeds which they accomplished."

Golden words. Better words could not be said.

And there is no doubt that the figures of literature and the arts, dedicated to the ideals of communism, will enrich our contemporaries the spiritual treasures of a new, historic community of people--the Soviet people--with new works that are worthy of the era of mature, developed socialism.

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